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THE
SEXUAL HISTORY OF
THE WORLD WAR

THE SEXUAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

has been edited and translated into English
from the German work of

DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD

"The World's Greatest Sanitarian, Psychosexual Physician and Creator of the Sexual Sciences."

Founder and Head of the *Institute for Sexual Science*, visited by thousands of Physicians and Scientists from all over the world for purposes of study, research and experimentation.

Organizer of The Scientific-Humanistic Committee

Organizer of The International Congresses for Sexual Reform

Co-Founder of the Medical Society for Sexual Science

Co-Founder of the Journal of Sexual Science

Lecturer to thousands of professional circles and scientific institutes in every civilized country of both the Orient and the Occident.

Author of some 187 learned works in the four special fields making an entity of the Sexual Sciences: 1. Sexual Biology; 2. Sexual Pathology; 3. Sexual Sociology; 4. Sexual Ethnology for Physicians and Students of Advanced Sex Science

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THE
SEXUAL HISTORY OF
THE WORLD WAR

DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD

*Founder and Director
of the Institute for Sexual Science*

In Collaboration with
World-Famous Physicians, Scientists and Historians

Intended for circulation among Mature Educated Persons only

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THE GREATEST
AMERICAN REFERENCE WORK
ON THE SEXUAL SCIENCES

ENCYCLOPAEDIA SEXUALIS

edited by the Eminent Physician and Medical Historian,

DR. VICTOR ROBINSON

*in Collaboration with more than a Hundred Internation-
ally Known Medical, Legal and Scientific Authorities*

is dedicated to

DR. IWAN BLOCH

and

DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD

In his beautiful dedication,

DR. VICTOR ROBINSON says:

"Doctors Bloch and Hirschfeld were two of the foremost creators of sexual science; their names appear frequently in this volume . . . both accomplished work of enduring value for the welfare of the human race. Their books were burnt [by the Hitler government] and are not permitted to be read in their native land; where liberty still survives, these books are held in honor. To the memory of our departed friends we dedicate the ENCYCLOPAEDIA SEXUALIS."

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theme, much more informative than many historical works and memoirs of generals, since the latter generally pass by with supercilious silence just those relationships which appear so important to us.

We are very grateful to all those who have facilitated and aided our work through supplying us with material. They are too numerous to be mentioned here by name; but we must not omit to mention one of them, namely, Mr. A. Wolff of Leipzig, who very graciously placed at our disposal his extremely large and rich collection of war data, photographs, etc.

And so we offer this work to the unprejudiced reader as the first modest contribution to the history of morals during the war, the full and exhaustive treatment of which theme will only be possible after many years of investigation and analysis.

DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD

Contents

INTRODUCTION	II
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PART I

1. THE RELEASE OF SEXUAL RESTRAINTS	24
2. WAR WIVES AND IMMORALITY	32
3. EROTICISM OF NURSES	54
4. SENSUALITY IN THE TRENCHES	70
5. VENEREAL DISEASES	92
6. WOMEN SOLDIERS AND FEMALE BATTALIONS	110
7. HOMOSEXUALITY AND TRANSVESTITISM	124

PART II

8. REGULATION OF ARMY BROTHELS	141
9. PROSTITUTION BEHIND THE LINES	156
10. LUST IN THE CONQUERED AREAS	171
11. CIVILIAN DEBAUCHERY BACK HOME	187
12. GENITAL INJURIES, WAR EUNUCHS, ETC.	205
13. SEX LIFE OF WAR PRISONERS	226

PART III

14. AMATORY ADVENTURES OF FEMALE SPIES	236
15. EROTICISM BEHIND MILITARY DRILL	266
16. PROPAGANDA AND SEX LIES	272
17. THE BESTIALIZATION OF MAN	278
18. SADISM, RAPE, AND OTHER ATROCITIES	299
19. POST-WAR REVOLUTION AND SEXUALITY	321
20. APPENDIX—U. S. STARTS CLEANUP OF CAMP FOLLOWERS	342

Illustrations

THE POPULAR PARISIAN CONCEPTION OF WAR WIVES . . .	44
UKRAINIAN WOMEN SOLDIERS	117
A TYPICAL ARMY BROTHEL	149
THE POPULARITY OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN PARIS	162
AN AMERICAN RED CROSS POSTER	216

Introduction

THE SEXUAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD WAR

*Moral Tendencies of Pre-War Period—Economic, Political and Erotic
Emancipation of Women—Revolution of Youth—Homosexual Women
Help Feminism—Erotic Types of Pre-War Women*

NATURA non facit Saltum. Nature does not make any jumps. No matter how catastrophic the changes of the World War were, we must regard these alterations as a continuation of previous developments. To be sure, the dimensions of the change were now raised to the realm of the fantastic, but they were none the less connected with conditions existing before the war. Hence, every history of the World War, if it is to have any claim to completeness, must start with the pre-history of that event, for in the latter there are to be discerned all the explosive elements that led to the disaster of July, 1914. Without the economic competition of the great capitalist states, without the imperialism unleashed by their industrial and colonial policies, without the armaments of the great European powers which had been piled up for decades and the consequent economic and military competition, First World War could never have broken out.

All these considerations, relating to the genesis of the World War are, however, outside the limits of our work. But we are interested in the question whether the extraordinary transformation of morality that ensued during the war—the erotic relations between the sexes—was also prepared for and anticipated before the war. For an extended treatment of this subject the interested reader is referred to V. F. Calverton's book, *Bankruptcy of Marriage*; but it may be worth while to summarize here a few of the more important facts in this connection.

The bourgeois class, which came to power in the French revolution and achieved economic supremacy, brought with it its own morality developed in the struggle with the feudal nobility and in opposition to the morality of the latter. At the center of this social morality, which reached its heyday at the beginning of the nine-

teenth century, stands capitalist property from which all the concepts of virtue are derived. For the victorious bourgeoisie virtue denoted thrift, economy, a simple manner of living, the commercialization of the relationships of life, the inviolability of the erotic ownership-rights to woman, regulated marriage and the consequent sacredness of marriage itself, the eschewal of every extra-marital intercourse, especially for woman whose sexuality was the property of man to be given in exchange for the sustenance purveyed by him, and the creation in prostitution as a safety valve for the sexuality of man regarded as insuperable.

This patriarchal morality of the bourgeoisie which the armed *citoyen* fought out at the beginning of the nineteenth century until the revolutionary year of 1848, no longer holds his successor, the modern bourgeois. Through the development of capitalism as a result of unlimited competition and the unforeseen growth of technology, two changes took place; first the petit bourgeois, the real bearer of bourgeois morality, was to a great extent proletarianized; and on the other hand, for a small class of wealthy capitalists, the trust magnates and wealthy potentates, there grew up, at the end of the nineteenth century, the material possibility for a luxurious way of life which overflowed the low banks of the primitive morality of the *citoyen*. This revision was enacted in theory before the war, which merely accelerated the process, and carried it to its conclusion. In other words, the outbreak of the war fell at a time pregnant with sultry anticipations which had partly destroyed the ancient values and pronounced the death verdict upon them.

If we examine the relations of the sexes before the war, we see a revolutionary shift, for the whole realm of sexuality is fundamentally different from that of the past. Whereas formerly sexuality had, in accordance with bourgeois concepts of chastity, been enveloped in a mystical darkness, there arose at the turn of the century a tremendous current of thought, an erotic enlightenment movement. This was a reaction against the earlier repression of sexuality from society. We can best envisage the tremendous advances it made during the war, by inspecting the changed position of woman. In so doing we have to deal with the phenomenon which may be termed the erotic emancipation of woman.

A second line of development is the social and political equalization of the sexes—a tremendous innovation in human history which set its stamp upon the pre-war period and made it one of the important eras in the history of cultural evolution. This tendency

also was enormously furthered by the war. It is logically connected with erotic emancipation and, like the latter, appears most clearly in the new position of woman. In the nineteenth century this tendency was called the emancipation of women but today it is termed feminism. Although this movement was found here and there before the war, especially in England, the war accelerated its development and made possible the rapid realization of its goal—the complete equalization of the sexes and the creation of a new sexual morality. Judge Lindsey regards the revolution of youth as the most important consequence of the post-war period, from the moral point of view. But we wish to point out that this revolution is confined to modern America and Russia and therefore we regard as much more significant the profound and far-reaching revolution of the modern woman. One might say that the successful rebellion of the female sex against century-old enslavement is the historic act of our century and may serve as the boundary between two ages of the world, that of the enslavement of the women, and that of the equality of the sexes.

These two tendencies, erotic emancipation of feminism, point to a third line of development which runs parallel with them and issues from a historical tendency that also came to expression before the war, that is, the economic equalization, the increasing participation of women in production. Since our whole conception proceeds from the economic elements in human society, we must look upon the transformation in the economic substructure of society as the fundamental factor and as the real explanation for both of the other phenomena.

The increasing participation of woman in economic production is due to the nature of industrial capitalism: industry constantly advancing by new technical inventions needed more labor power and forced ever greater masses to participate in production. This increase in labor power, so necessary for the development of industrialism, was eked out by working women, both from the city and villages, who deserted the farms and were sucked up by the great industrial centers (even at the beginning of the century Verhaeren had spoken of "*villes tentaculaires*"). We are only interested in the reasons which led women to participate in industry. Modern industrialism creates mass production and needs an ever increasing mass of consumers if it is to get rid of its products. Since, in this way, ever more classes of society participate in the fruits of civilization there comes about, to some degree at least, an equalization

of the needs of all strata of society. Needs which had formerly been alien to all the lower classes were artificially created. The laborer's wage, which, in accordance with the law of supply and demand, always circulates around the peak necessary for his own sustenance and scarcely ever goes beyond this, was added to by his wife who left housework to work for wages in industry. Otherwise, despite the cheapness of manufactured articles, the laborer could not satisfy those new needs. The entry of woman into economic life is quite advantageous for capitalism, because, in all branches of production, woman's labor power is cheaper. And the great participation of woman in production was constantly increased by the technological inventions of the machine age. The stage of early capitalism in which industry (in contrast to the guilds) was able to get along with cheap and unskilled labor and hence could make great use of women is repeated on a high level of industrial development as the complicated productive processes are now performed by machines—the steel idols of fully-developed industrialism. The comparative physical weakness of woman and her lack of technical education is of little importance in the twentieth century. In ever greater numbers women left the home and entered economic life; and parallel to this there went the pauperization of the middle classes, the *petit bourgeoisie*, which was ground to bits between the two millstones of capitalism (*Grosskapitalismus*) and the proletariat, for the society that belonged to this middle class were also unable to gratify the increased needs of industrialization save through the growing participation of women in business life. Daughters of the middle class swarmed into the intellectual callings as soon as the way was opened for them. Office girls, saleswomen, doctors, lawyers and civil service officials now entered into competition with men in these fields. A great number of vocations, which had formerly been looked upon as unfit for women, were successively conquered by women. Even before the war, there was created a situation in the labor market where the old distinction between women's work or professions had disappeared.

Everybody knows how the war affected the participation of women in industry. For in every European land the protraction of hostilities meant that greater masses of men would be drawn from work to economically unproductive war. The first months of the war saw a great rise in the need for labor power. Under such circumstances woman entered practically every branch of productive activity so that she virtually achieved economic emancipation.

The legal impediments to women's work in some European states were not eliminated until after the war, but, just the same, during the war women occupied positions considered purely masculine, and often not compelled by economic need. This economic emancipation, achieved so easily, was the ground on which political, legal and social emancipation summarized under the "women's movement" (*Frauenbewegung*) could flourish. To be sure, much earlier there had been a movement for emancipation on political grounds but it had little influence. The success of any movement for the emancipation of women had to wait for the increasing participation of woman in economic life. Consequently the struggle for the political enfranchisement of women entered a decisive change in the first decade of our century. As a result of the increased economic equalization, the movement for the political enfranchisement of women was accelerated.

Feminism and the woman's movement are permeated in the most diverse ways with erotic factors. The great suffragettes of earlier days, those who had achieved importance because of their espousal of a new ideal of woman beyond that which was held to be dictated by nature and desired by God, were at the same time the protagonists of freedom from the shackles of conventional morality. Indeed it is not without its piquancy that these female geniuses were much less protagonists of woman's rights than of erotic freedom. For that which the nineteenth century termed the emancipation of women, the women who have achieved world fame have done very little. From Aspasia to Mme. Curie, or Eleanora Duse few women have fought so that the privileges which their own genius assured to them might become the right of every woman. George Sand was perhaps the only one who in her books and in her personal relations was an emancipationist and demanded for all women that right of which she made such frequent use—of acting, living and dressing like a man. However, with regard to George Sand, there is scarcely any doubt that as far as her work was concerned, she was really a disguised man and Weininger has correctly pointed out that in her rich and changeful *vita sexualis* she always preferred feminine men. (We are indebted to Magnus Hirschfeld for a scientific understanding of the personality of George Sand whom he classifies as a transverstitic metatropist.)

But as long as economic emancipation of women was absent, freedom was confined to a few exceptional women, who as early as the nineteenth century termed themselves emancipated. E. F. W.

Eberhard has attempted in his book, *Erotic Foundations of the Emancipation of Woman*, to explain the women's movement from the point of view of the erotic attributes of women. But, aside from the fact that these attributes are by no means constant, as appears in the change from type of modern women (since every period creates its own types), such a conception of the historical transformation of feminism is without ground. Nor is he right in assuming that the rise of the women's movement is to a large part due to the activities of homosexual women; rather must one say that the women's movement, which became active through the economic transformation, in certain cases, drew women with homosexual inclinations into the camp of the suffragettes from purely erotic motives. In his work on homosexuality in 1914, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld says the following concerning this point:

"Through their virile characteristics, independence, interest in public questions, their developed understanding on the one hand, and their lack of family ties on the other, they appear destined to advance to positions of leadership. As a matter of fact, we need the homosexual woman in all women's groups, social or professional, and they are of extreme importance in fighting for emancipation and independence. Naturally we must not assume that the latter are based entirely, or even primarily, on homosexual elements, but, none the less, the connections between it and female homosexuality are so numerous because the female yearnings, in accordance with their natural capacities, participate as the pioneers in the struggle for the independence of woman from man."

This same writer, Eberhard, has directed our attention to the importance of female sadism in emancipation and has termed women's sadistic desire to rule, the cause of their emancipation and the lasciviousness connected with it. This may be psychologically true, but it is historically false. Neither the desire for power, nor sadism, nor other erotic motives of the female psyche can be regarded as the "cause" of this movement. They are only incentives, subjective motivations, illusions, desires and passions, through which a historic-economic necessity comes to expression, in this case the equalization of the sexes. Of course Eberhard, in keeping with the anti-feminist tendency of his book, exaggerates the homosexual and sadistic tendencies of participants in the women's movement; but, none the less, the rôle which these and other erotic impulses played, are not negligible, especially in view of the fact that all the female protagonists of feminism were clear on the point that

political emancipation would go hand in hand with a greater sexual freedom. Moreover, it cannot be denied that the erotic freedom thus sought after was frequently of a tribadic or sadistic kind.

The progress of feminism and the participation of women in production resulted in a masculinization of the contemporary type of woman. Even sadistic moments which here point back to the fundamental antipathy of the sexes came to clearer expression in the economic competition which woman offered to man in professional and industrial life. As women displaced men more and more during the war, Dr. W. Stekel asserted that they were using the war to capture the positions of men and perhaps to keep them forever. The wild outbreaks of certain suffragettes against the male sex are notorious and Eberhard has collated curious examples of this in his book; but, of course, it was primarily the homosexual wing of the women's movement which expressed this antipathy to men.

In other ways, also, the women's movement was connected with the problems of sexual life. Free love, or at least the bursting of bourgeois morality barriers, as far as love and marriage are concerned, was from the start one of the important points of the women's movement. To be sure, the political and erotic liberation (which, in their turn, are based on economics) first became clear after the changes had taken place in the economic substructure of society. The majority of the women did not wish to become free in much the same way that in the American Civil War a large number of Negro slaves were hostile to abolition of slavery. In the same way, the fundamental participation of woman in production, which first made possible political-social as well as erotic liberation, the purely economic grounds of which we have just considered above—grew up without the efforts of women and, to a large extent, in spite of them. The new forms of capitalist production eventuated in a political transformation which reached its pinnacle in the emancipation of women; and corresponding to these new forms (and connected no less strongly with the economic basis), there took place an erotic revolution which spread over the whole realm of morality. What the twentieth century accomplished in changes in the erotic realm is nothing more than a new stage of capitalist development initiated in economic life and accelerated by the war.

This erotic liberation expresses itself most strongly in the changed erotic position of woman. This erotic revolution was enormously advanced by scientific investigation into the realm of sexual life,

hitherto shamefully concealed. The first herald in the struggle for the liberation from sexual prejudices was, as is well known, Krafft-Ebing who was soon followed by men like Havelock Ellis, Forel, Freud, Magnus Hirschfeld, Iwan Bloch, etc. No one wishes to deny that there had been protagonists of erotic liberation at an earlier period, brave souls who had felt the constriction of bourgeois morality and had sought to overcome them, as "Young Germany" which had fought for "The emancipation of the flesh." But without the change in the economic structure, no such movement could have achieved importance.

Our generation is well acquainted with how these changes influenced woman, not only in public life, but in the erotic realm. The bourgeois morality of the whole nineteenth century sentenced the woman to passivity which was the highest female virtue in love but which, in reality, as Calverton has well said, was the price of her economic subservience to man. In this way there was attributed to women a need to lean upon someone for support, which really corresponded to actual life (at least so far as the women of the higher social classes were concerned). All the female types of the past century, from Balzac to Ibsen, are, with slight exceptions, constituted of such traits of character. At the turn of the century, however, a change began to take place. Female types are generally created by art and literature which make use of their privilege of idealization in such a way that they clearly express the demands which man makes upon the woman of his period. Every age has one or more such female types just as, according to Taine, every period has its own ideal of man. The various types of women are the erotic ideal-forms of a period, equipped with all the erotic advantages and merits which appear to the males of that time as worthy of adoration and desire but which, as a matter of fact, no woman, not even the "representative woman," actually possesses.

In the nineteenth century all the female types, until the very last decades, reflect the solid bourgeois morality. But Ibsen's Nora and her sisters feel the constriction of bourgeois morality and yearn for liberation from the compulsions and repressions of marriage. At the beginning of our century the attitude of woman became more revolutionary and more threatening to the still regnant bourgeois morality as can be seen from the new female types. That fine historian of morals, Moreck, has listed three such types of the pre-war period: "the grande-dame," "the demi-vierge" (half virgin)

and the "Lulu" type. A fourth type, that of the suffragette, he regards as a variation of the half virgin—which, we think, is incorrect because the suffragette was not essentially an erotic type, but one serving the social and economic emancipation even though, as we have seen above, she might have been moved by various erotic impulses. Naturally these three types do not exhaust the change in the nature of woman in the decade and a half before the war but are just a few examples, which might be increased at will.

Frequently found in literature of the first decade of the twentieth century, is the type of the modern adulteress, whom the dramatists, and especially writers of French farces, have represented in the most varied triangle comedies. For this type, the limitations of bourgeois morality, which come to expression in marriage, are no longer sacrosanct but, none the less, still worthy of attention and regard. These prohibitions are broken without qualms of conscience yet the appearance of the old form is anxiously maintained and the social consequence of adultery, divorce, is carefully avoided. This type of adulteress indicates that the bourgeois woman (for mostly we are concerned with the woman of this class and her moral attitudes which influenced women of the other classes too, although not greatly, as the working woman and the aristocratic woman were living under different economic circumstances) was beginning to carry the institution of marriage *ad absurdum*, without economically being able to do without her husband. What is decisive in the case of these women is the frivolous lightness with which the woman transgressed the command of marital fidelity. Adultery, which in Mme. Bovary's time had still been a tragic problem, now became more and more a sex game.

These sex games are also indulged in by half virgins, whom one might designate paradoxically as unmarried adulteresses. The demi-virgin abides by the barriers of bourgeois morality, continues to live with her bourgeois family and anxiously guards her physical intactness as the insurance policy protecting her for marriage. Corresponding to this type of *demi-vierge*, created by Prévost, there are a number of similar literary types, the *Nixchen*, the *süsse Mädel*, and others who reflect a similar stage in the erotic development of modern woman.

The last pre-war type mentioned by Moreck, the "Lulu" type, is the literary personification, as her creator Wedekind says, of one perfectly free from inhibitions. She is the woman who, no longer

disturbed by erotic conventions, has become transmogrified from a passive object of lust to an insatiable demon demanding the right to free and unlimited choice of loves hitherto denied her.

Another type of woman whose literary exemplars are much more rooted in reality and who has been of tremendous importance in the erotic liberation of woman, is the woman nihilist, the Russian co-ed, the precursor of emancipation in Europe. Her influence upon the development of a new type of woman in Europe was already felt before the war, but became more important later. Significantly enough, she was the first to wear bobbed hair—symbolic of economic, political and erotic emancipation of women.

That the increasing participation of woman in industry, her entry into the struggle for existence, and her insight into material problems of vocational life had to change the erotic type of woman will certainly not surprise the reader. It is obvious that economic independence had to change woman's character. The wage-earner or professional woman has more before her than the sole possibility of marriage. No longer is she economically dependent on man, but can now choose not only to whom she will be married but whether she wishes to marry at all, or earn her own bread. As a result, the passivity, which distinguished her character for centuries, was now lost. Economic independence gave woman courage for sexual freedom and the increase in extra-marital intercourse went hand in hand with the demand for the unmarried woman's right to a child, long ago enunciated by feminism. In this way there arose the greater freedom of sex life among girls and women, economically independent.

The female types which the war brought forth, must be judged from the erotic realm, even though they seem to draw life from the economic and social status only. Besides the women who went into industry during the war there were also the war wife, war bride, the nurse, the halting-station girl, etc.; all of them rooted in the change in social and economic conditions of life. We shall return later to the transformations which the female psyche underwent during the war and as a result of it. Woman, who, now convinced that she was able to substitute for man, could perform work which men had hitherto performed, now swept off the prejudice that woman needs someone to lean upon. She began to stand upon her own feet and claimed her rights in the erotic realm as well. We cannot overlook the accelerating effect of the war in this connection,

just as, on the other hand, we must not exaggerate this effect and believe that the war induced a sudden erotic revolution which had no preparation in previous conditions. Perhaps its greatest importance lies in the fact that in addition to the girls and women of the proletariat whose moral deportment had of old deviated from the prescriptions of bourgeois morality, it now affected other classes of society the women of which had remained untouched by the slow change of morality before the war. In this way the moral transformation of the war became general and affected all classes. In an essay, entitled "Women of the Present," Ernst Fischer has said the following concerning the women of the war period:

"Women had been taught to see in man their supporter, their bread-winner, the head of their family. Now suddenly the men were snatched away from them and against their will they were 'emancipated.' Women had been indoctrinated with the 'female virtue,' femininity, subservience, self-denial, in short, the virtues of all the oppressed and the socially inferior; now suddenly they were compelled to act the part of men and to shift for themselves and for their children. The demands of the suffragettes, which had formerly been mocked and jeered at, were now fulfilled in the name of the 'great period' (the war)."

To sum up. Everywhere we see the same phenomenon: in the development of the pre-war times there were tendencies which were slowly ripening and which, as a result of the war, were tremendously accelerated and matured over night, so to speak. The war burst upon humanity like a hurricane and together with millions of human lives it swept away prejudices which had already been tottering. The dammed-up instincts, which had frequently broken through the moral repressions that were no longer regarded as sacred, rushed out in a veritable moral chaos which reached its peak, curiously enough, not during the war but in the first post-war years. The war created nothing new in the realm of morals no matter how greatly it accelerated the tempo of the evolution. The new forms of industrial capitalism which no longer could permit the female half of mankind to remain economically unproductive, the political and social equalization of both sexes, the disintegration of the bourgeois morality and the consequent moral and erotic liberation were tendencies that had been active since the turn of the century. It is true that the war helped us get rid of old rubbish ever so much sooner but the old order would have

passed anyhow. Was it necessary that millions of lives had to be paid for this? What the war brought was nothing more than spiritual and moral emptiness and brutalization, a sudden unchaining of atavistic impulses which for five years stormed through the world unimpeded and constituted the terrible forms in which the historical necessity of a moral transformation came to expression.

THE
SEXUAL HISTORY OF
THE WORLD WAR

Part One

Chapter 1

THE RELEASE OF SEXUAL RESTRAINTS

War-Enthusiasm—Its Libidinous Background—The Sexual Impulse at Outbreak of the War—Nymphomaniac Effects—Erotic Influence of the Uniform—Mass Delirium—Eroticism and Cruelty—Viewpoint of Sociology and Psychoanalysis

NO one who was alive at that time will ever forget those feverish days when the war broke out. The masses poured through the streets jubilantly, aroused to a blazing hatred, an enormous beast ready to hurl itself upon the enemy and bring it death and disaster. It was only a very extraordinary poet who was able to say that the summer in which the war broke out saw man at his lowest. Not much good is done to the cause of pacifism by attributing the mass paroxysm of the first days of the war to motives that are all too practical. Undoubtedly there were among the myriads, who in Paris demanded a march upon Berlin, in Berlin, the destruction of France, in Vienna and Budapest the death of Serbia, paid agents of the war propaganda who bellowed vociferously their pro-war inclinations. It is also true that, in the street-brawls directed against foreigners who were nationals of enemy countries, more than patriotism was at stake for property was very frequently stolen. It is also true that in these mobs which tore through the streets, shrieking their hurrahs, there were youths, irresponsible elements who are not absent in any metropolitan mob, who took delight in rows as they had nothing to be afraid of. But to regard all the enthusiasm for war as due to paid agents, pilferers or rowdies is a contradiction of the facts. The truth is that in those days there were only a few who were immune to the mass psychosis and practically everyone was enthusiastic for war. It was an outbreak of mass insanity, an explosion that had been experienced earlier in world's history and even been described (by Zola, for example) but which had never fanned such a world conflagration. The en-

thusiasm as described by Gläser in his *Class of 1902* was shared by almost everyone, and pacifists must not delude themselves in this. It was a sudden release from a tension that had been felt for years.

The leader of the Austrian social democracy, Viktor Adler, who until the last moment fought for peace, declared at an international convention of his party, shortly after the outbreak of the war, that despite all the propaganda against it, war was still popular among the proletariat. Millions of men shouted the heartfelt "At last" almost rapturously expressed by Count Appanyi in the Hungarian Parliament when he learnt that war had been declared.

During the days of mobilization, a merchant made a speech in the streets of Vienna and expressed the opinion that without the war everything would have collapsed, that peace was no longer tolerable. This man spoke from his soul; and a great many others spoke of an unbearable burden which had pressed upon the world and which had suddenly been lightened at the outbreak of the war. What was this pressure and why was it unbearable? In order to answer this question we must descend into the dark realm of the war-instinct, for it was primarily that which came to expression in the joy of war, which permitted these same instincts fulfillment. Particularly must we talk about the instinct of struggle, the lust for blood, which is an ancient heritage of mankind. Nicolai has shown us how this is connected with war. After the eighteenth century there was no longer any method of killing men legitimately. There were a few remainders of the ancient bloody games, such as in bullfights in Spain, duels among the students in Germany, or certain sects in Russia which killed some of their communicants, but aside from these stray relics of an earlier day, the French revolution had put an end to the possibility of gratifying the instinct for blood so deeply rooted in human beings. The only device that remained was war, and hence all these primitive impulses concentrated upon it; and it was this instinct for struggle which celebrated the possibility of fulfillment in the ensuing combat.

We have now to point out certain relationships between the outbreak of the war and eroticism. Attempts have been made to explain war as such from the sexual impulse. Two years before the World War the Italian Gallo undertook to do this in a work which omitted any consideration of the economic and social conditions of war and attributed it directly to sex factors (following Horace who had said that, even before the times of Helen, sexual lust had been the cause of grievous wars). To our way of thinking,

there is no war without property and therefore in explaining any war the economic considerations will come first and only secondarily factors derived from the realm of sex. Of course, the subjective and the erotic factors must not be overlooked but they do not call forth any war; they merely determine the forms under which the economic social necessity of war and the economic transformation caused by it will come to expression. It is doubtful whether there was ever a war for a purely sexual reason. The ancient saga of the Trojan war may, in reality, have been due to the expansion of Greek commerce into Asia Minor. Of course, there have been and remain individual combats for a woman; among certain animals, particularly the deer, bloody struggles for the female of the species are very common, but these have nothing to do with war, certainly not with modern capitalist war.

This does not mean that at the outbreak of the war eroticism was not intimately bound up with the war-enthusiasm. For example, the attempt was made to arouse a combination of the feeling of vengeance with erotic undertones by representing to the Austro-Hungarian soldiers the wife of Franz Ferdinand, who had been assassinated with her husband, as a sort of saint of the war whose innocent blood would have to be avenged. All war propaganda used such slogans with an erotic undertone. It may be asked whether all ideas for which one can become enthusiastic to the point of making the last sacrifice are not ultimately erotic, that is, colored by the unconscious with a libidinous streak. Psycho-analysis has taught this very doctrine in its concept of sublimation; but without going into further detail it is clear that the outbreak of the war was not evaluated logically but emotionally.

Another question in this regard is how far and to what degree did the outbreak of the war and the enthusiasm for war affect eroticism? According to H. Fehlinger, the outbreak of the war induced a weakening of the sexual impulse. Had Fehlinger, in the early days of the war, visited the brothels of his merry South German native city he would certainly not have concluded that the sex impulse had been diminished, for these institutions were filled with all kinds of soldiers. His assumption that the great enthusiasm for war might have the effect of weakening the sexual drive just didn't work out in the realm of fact. The opposite was true, particularly as far as women were concerned. The great experience of the outbreak of the war, the tremendous emotional excitement that it brought, exercised a stimulating effect upon the women of every

land and appears to have raised their need of love considerably. Among other witnesses of this is the French physician, Dr. Huot, who pointed to the numerous French women who, out of patriotism, had given themselves promiscuously to soldiers departing to the field of battle. These cases can much less be regarded as patriotism than as a sort of war nymphomania which was observed in every land. This circumstance goes to prove that woman reacted to the war with an increase of her libido. There are numerous examples of this but we will quote one article of the journalist, E. Erdely, concerning Budapest and its women:

“In the first weeks of the great excitement and in the ensuing months, women fell into a feverish delirium of enthusiasm, as though the senses had, with one move, thrown off the repressive chains of all social and economic scruples. It seemed natural that the same emotional experience which expressed itself, among men, in the lust for murder, in women showed itself in the madness of corporeal surrender. No statistics were made on this subject, but the consequences prove that the enthusiastic girls jumped in an almost insane way into the arms of the men departing for the battlefield. For in those early weeks, every man who wore a uniform seemed to be the exalted betrothed of death; and who had the power to resist the supplicating word and the pleading glance of such a one? Never did women commit so many sins as in that autumn of the mass delirium.”

Many sociologists have held war to be an elementary expression of human nature, for example, Gumpłowicz, Jerusalem, Steinmetz, etc. This is rather surprising in view of the fact that society has made so much progress. Orthodox psychology has paid little attention to the spiritual determinance of war but psychoanalysis has provided us with numerous insights on this subject. At the beginning of the war, Freud wrote a book in which he treated the problem of war and death. On the basis of his investigation of neuroses, he came to the conclusion that, in reality, civilization had not removed the evil inherent in human nature. At its core, human nature consists of instinctive impulses which are the same in all men, and are directed toward the satisfaction of certain primitive needs. Under the influence of internal factors and external ones as well, these evil desires are sublimated or refined. The normal pressure of culture does not produce pathological results, but comes to expression in various malformations of character and in the constant readiness of the repressed impulses to leap out

whenever there seems to be an opportunity. Whoever is compelled to live in accordance with rules that are not his instinctive inclinations is living, from the psychological point of view, as a hypocrite. It is undeniable that our contemporary culture has furthered the development of such hypocrisy. War is an opportunity for throwing off, for a while, all the irksome repressions which culture imposes and for satisfying temporarily all the repressed desires. The psychoanalyst, Ernest Jones, has pointed to the fact that ultimately the sublimation of our thoroughly egoistic and anti-social instincts into ethical and social aspirations and achievements, in other words, the domestication of our primitive instincts, are the precondition for any cultural development. It is as though individuals came to an agreement against their will—to behave properly for otherwise punishments of various sorts will be imposed upon them. Like Nietzsche's cultural philistine they obey an ideal which is not their own and hence it is understandable that their obedience is never perfect. Hence they harbor a greater or less internal conflict although this is, to a large extent, unconscious.

It may be difficult to distinguish between man who has sublimated his instincts, and the majority of men who abide by the prescriptions of civilization against their will and constantly feel the weight of civilization upon them. However, as soon as the social pressure is removed, the difference between them becomes exceedingly plain; the attitude of the first type remains practically unchanged whereas that of the second rapidly becomes worse. The experience of psychoanalysis agrees perfectly with the testimony of war that refinement of primitive impulses has progressed far less than we flatter ourselves into thinking; and that the great majority of mankind belongs to the second groups, whose sublimation is more apparent than real. This enables us to understand why during war man can express certain psychological traits which otherwise are repressed. The impulsive character of man, his faulty sublimation, and the possibility of slipping back or regressing to earlier stages of his development, give us the means of understanding psychologically what happens during the war. The question that must be asked is whether men really wanted the World War and actually affirmed it; and our answer to that question is "Yes." Emil Ludwig may have been right when he said that three capable statesmen could have prevented the war, but this leads us to the problem of leadership and hence to the consideration of war from the point of view of crowds and masses. In general, the viewpoint is

current today that we are living in an epoch of collective mass powers where the super-historical heroes of Carlyle have no place. But mass psychology and the personality of the hero are two aspects of one phenomenon: the effect of one upon the many. We have already seen that the single soul has within it the inclination to warlike conduct, the potentialities for warlike tendencies are latent within it; and we now must take into consideration the rôle of mass factors. In his description of the characteristics of crowds, Le Bon has shown that they have certain characters which are different from that of single personalities, particularly increased affectivity and diminished rationality. But why this should be so remained a mystery until Freud pointed out that the peculiar phenomena of mass psychology were the manifest unconscious of the mass come to expression. Freud showed that every artificial mass, as an army or church, by the identification of all the members of the mass with one another and the setting up of the leader in the place of the ego ideal, produced a libido relationship which was the real cement of the mass. The mass is the resurrection of the primitive horde, just as in every man the primitive is retained unconsciously. So in every group of men the primeval horde may come to expression. Insofar as mass formations habitually control men, we recognize the continuation of the primeval horde within it. Furthermore, the leader of the mass is always the feared primitive father; the mass always wants to be ruled with unlimited power and desires to submit to such authority.

Freud's consideration of this subject culminated in the statement that mass phenomena are, so to speak, legitimized forms of indulging instincts which otherwise must be punished. In the mass phenomena the repressed instincts come to expression. Despite all restrictions and limitations which are placed upon the ego we find that human societies have made provision for a periodic breaking through of these prohibitions as is shown by the institution of festivals which originally were nothing more than excesses enjoined by the law, and to this liberation they owe their merry character. The Saturnalia of the Romans and our present carnivals are in this respect identical with the festivals of the primitives which would be characterized by excesses of every kind and the transgression of commandments normally held to be sacred.

From this point of view, war was a horrible equivalent, an outbreak of instinct in sanctioned form. That which the state prohibited to the individual, it permitted to the mass. The American

psychologist, William James, had spoken of "the moral equivalent of war" by which he meant that so long as the conditions of peace time would not give to the individual sufficient satisfactions and advantageous experiences, war would keep its attractive power as the highest opportunity for the intoxication of the senses. There is undoubtedly a profound insight in this view, War, like alcohol, will maintain its psychological function until another social structure will be found to provide human beings with more possibility of satisfying their wishes. Even if man is by his nature "evil," he is, none the less, susceptible to change through social and individual transformations of life as has been proved in the cases of many individuals. Dissatisfaction with peace gives birth to war. Those who, disappointed and desperate, decay in the treadmill of life will always greet war as a salvation from dullness and misery.

We know that every war mobilizes all the impulses of cruelty; war, taken as a whole, is one great act of cruelty. The investigations of psychoanalysis have made us familiar with the connections between cruelty and sadism. There can be no doubt that the cruelty which war demands and sanctifies was consciously or unconsciously affirmed by those persons who had retained in their instinctive life the primeval sadistic impulse for which they had found no satisfactory activity in peace times. Abnormal sexual attitudes and acts of cruelty, resulting from them, are found in peace times, too; but war, as legalized mass-murder, offers incentives and possibilities and even premiums for the evil instincts. Without the sexual background, the numerous, meaningless acts of cruelty of the World War are incomprehensible.

A second motive, also belonging to the realm of sexual forces, is the effect that the war had upon the sexual life of so many people. Here, also, there is reflected the dissatisfaction with the conditions of peace which we have already described. How many there are who live in ties which afford them meager satisfaction from the sexual point of view and demand a repression of their needs! One need think only of the dominant form of contemporary marriage which seldom purveys an erotic harmony for the partner. The war affords a tremendous opportunity to pull off these shackles temporarily and, at least in anticipation, to indulge infinite erotic desires. Everybody who was acquainted with sexual dissatisfaction or misery of any kind greeted the outbreak of war from this point of view; and from innumerable such dissatisfactions with peace, their issued a psychological attitude which was receptive to war.

In the depths of the human soul, eroticism, cruelty and the mad desire to destroy, are all intimately connected. There are certain inter-relationships between the negative forces of destruction and the positive might of Eros. For every repression and violation of Eros can, under certain conditions, produce an emergence of the destructive sadistic powers. The sexual misery of peace time, the hypocritical morality of the ruling social classes, pervert the natural impulses and finally bursts out in aberrant reactions. The liberation of violated impulses through the war, the tremendous expression which they had never been able to achieve in peace time, produced a tremendous intoxication which carried men with it beyond all reason. The primeval combat of the powers of life and death, which is forever being fought anew, came to an armistice. How will the primeval enmity of both these powers end up? Despite all the sobering and disappointing experiences, we have faith in the perseverance of the productive forces in the world. And so we close with the words of Freud: "And therefore we must hope that the second of the two divine forces, namely, the eternal Eros will make a great effort to maintain itself in the struggle with its equally immortal enemy."

Chapter 2

WAR WIVES AND IMMORALITY

Female Suffering—Masculinization of Women—War Marriages—Attacks on Foreigners—Prostitutes Purvey Military Supplies—Legalization of Free Unions—Infidelity of War Wives—Increase of Illegitimate Births—Pandering and Abortion—Preventive Measures Against Disease—Punishments for Infidelity—Neuroses and Psychoses—Female Continence and its Results—Lesbianism and Other Perversions—Auto-Erotic Aberrations—“Cessatio Mensum”—Compulsory Sexual Abstinence—Increased Love Needs of Soldiers’ Wives—Love Episodes with Prisoners-of-War—The Cowards’ League—Public Flogging of Faithless Wives—Rape of Men by Women—Sapphic Relations During Husbands’ Absence

TO each age and sex group of society the war brought special sufferings. The men who were its cannon fodder had their bodies crippled, burnt, and torn to fragments by bombs and shrapnel; the children went to rack and ruin in vast masses as a result of the blockade, undernourishment and general neglect; and the women—what fearful sufferings and sacrifices did it impose upon them!

The fearful effects of the incredible catastrophe of the World War showed themselves so comprehensively in all walks of life, in individuals and society, that we must restrict ourselves to just a few clearly defined mass phenomena. In the case of women it must be emphasized that these drastic effects touched the women of the higher strata of society hardly at all, or at least very little. To be sure, there were women for whom the war, not merely at the outset but during its whole bloody duration, was a unique sensation, a novelty, a nerve titillation, but these women belonged exclusively to the privileged classes. As far as the working woman is concerned, we have every reason to see in her one of the most pitiable, because most helpless, victims of the war.

It cannot be denied, of course, that during the first weeks of the mass hypnosis of the war not even the woman of the lower classes escaped the influence of mob suggestion. However for her the awakening from this delirium was the more shocking. Then she became aware of clamorous and bitter demands of reality—having to substitute for her husband in the economic field; fighting the battle for existence without any preparation and with very insufficient equipment.

In the first period after the outbreak of the war, the patriotic enthusiasm of women frequently went to the most ridiculous extremes. It was in truth that sort of an emotional expression of the

female psyche which the Berlin gynecologist, Dr. Max Hirsch, has correctly termed *paradox reaction*. This emotional gush was the more remarkable since it ran counter to what it ordinarily regarded as the original reaction of women. In this period women demonstrated the most incredible readiness to part with, nay to send away their beloved ones, husbands and sons. The motives for this reaction were quite diverse: patriotism, feeling of duty, greed, etc., but usually it was, paradoxically enough, what is generally regarded as real mother-love or husband-love which led the women to drive their husbands or sons into the battlefield—a love which expressed itself in a desire to prevent the stigma of delayed service for the fatherland from resting upon the beloved. In addition there might have been a form of romantic hero-worship. Whatever the dominant reason, it was these very women who frequently suffered most under the conflict which love and sacrifice imposed upon them. Conditions of nervous excitation and depression to the point of melancholy were the consequences which reached their highest point in those cases where the given man, who had been virtually pushed into the war by his wife or mother, died in battle and the woman was left to reproach herself with feelings of guilt at having been instrumental in his death.

It is well known that women in every land played a large rôle in the agitation against foreigners, particularly in the large cities, which broke out with the declaration of war. We might adduce two examples of this sort of thing. In Breslau a British teacher of languages, Harold Whyte, was denounced by his own wife and brought before the martial court because he had written an article for English newspapers on the subject of German mobilization. When the judge inquired why she had done this she replied that as a German she loved her fatherland. Not much credence was placed in the woman's arguments and the man was freed inasmuch as he had written the article before war had been declared against Germany. In Vienna, the first days after the declaration of war, brutal attacks were carried out by women on passersby who had the misfortune to look like the citizens of enemy countries. Thus Chinese were beaten because they resembled Japanese, Americans were mistaken for Englishmen, and Poles, who unfortunately looked like Russians, were given pretty rough handling by these infuriated women.

It is an idle question how the women got along in the masculine pursuits which the hard necessity of war forced upon them against

their will. The conditions under which they had to do this work that was unfamiliar to them were definitely abnormal; and the worse food conditions grew in the central European states, later in France and even in the victorious nations, the more unjust is it to measure their achievements by the gauge of normal, peaceful times. Whatever our final opinion would be upon this subject, one thing is quite certain—that the undernourished woman who had to work under these abnormal conditions for any length of time sustained lasting injuries to her health. Even today, more than a decade after the outbreak of the war, the consequences of this exploitation of women during the war can be observed in industrial workers, especially the women and the younger generation. Very frequently women substituted for their husbands in quite unwomanly pursuits. Whether this contributed to raise the cultural level of women we will not consider.

In France a member of the Chamber protested vigorously against the purveying of military supplies by women of the half-world. He reported that the French military officials had contracted a whole series of agreements with women whose chief occupation before the war had been to visit nocturnal quarters where they had sought liaisons but who, since the outbreak of the war, had by chance been transformed into purveyors of military supplies and saw that the government did not lack for anything, from ammunition to trains and condensed milk. A similar report was made in Germany concerning the strumpets of Munich who for quite a while engaged in nefarious business with food cards until the police intervened. One remarkable consequence of the entrance of women into economic life is the masculinization of the average female type—a fact which has been demonstrated by Exner. This is a fact of tremendous consequences for the history of morals. It started during the war and in the few post-war years continued energetically, commonly expressing itself in such matters as smoking and drinking. Exner has pointed to the remarkable increase in female criminality during and after the war. Murder, assault and battery, burglary, mayhem, opposition to laws and criminal practices of all kinds have played a far greater rôle among women during the bellum and post-bellum period than ever before. With regard to theft the same is true. During the war women stole more than men do in normal times. This alteration in female criminality is highly important to the penologist; and it will also be interesting for the psychologist to investigate whether, as woman was called

to take the place of man in various social and economic pursuits, she also approached his status in these anti-social acts.

The productive participation of women in industry and the economic sphere in general was only one of the innumerable causes which we must hold responsible for the general transformation in female morality. A whole mass of other circumstances, mostly of an economic nature, tended toward the same end. During the Franco-German war (1870-1871) a favorable moral effect was expected from the fashion of war marriages which had just become very popular. Such serious savants as Dr. Burchard pointed with pleasure to the fact that in these war marriages it was a general rule that love had conquered reason and that, since these marriages had been contracted not out of any prudential reasons, but sheerly out of love, some very favorable biological consequences might be anticipated. It is possible that such consequences might result if the war is of short duration, but the actual facts as we follow them give the lie to any such optimistic speculations. War marriages were generally entered into without an iota of any responsibility. In many cases the couple so married was only interested in legitimizing a single bridal night before the departure of the man. There was a complete lack of spiritual or moral community and, as a result, a vast and terrifying number of divorces took place immediately after the war. Thus in 1918 a single Berlin court issued seven hundred divorces in four months. In London and Paris too the war led to an unprecedented and incredible number of divorces occasioned by the economic and sexual starvation induced by the war as well as by the unreasoned and animal haste of the frivolous war marriage.

Professor Otto Baumgarten has left us a very comprehensive statement on the whole question. The early marriage of the young warrior, which had originally been greeted as a very commendable consequence of the war because it would lead back its generation from the *unculture* of a sophisticated period to nature and naïeté, soon appeared as a cause of the dissolution of marriage. Without any lengthy consideration of the obligations which grew out of the act, without the possibility of rooting the marital relationship certainly and deeply in mutually proven faith, these mass war marriages soon became the cause of a continually rising divorce rate. There were so many lonesome *instinctive* human beings who, after the first blaze of sexuality had been dissipated, had no interest in each other. However, who was there to deny the pleasure of a

moment to these men who were going to give their lives? In France, instead of praising the moralizing and eugenic effect of war marriages, they contended themselves with poking fun at the even vaster number of rapid-fire marriages. Here it appeared that the majority of couples who came to the authorities for these marriages were such as had been living in free union before. At the outbreak of the war, Blasco Ibanez reported that half of Paris ran to get married. Thousands of couples beleaguered the municipal offices, and all the men said the same: "We want to get married for tomorrow I am going away." So without any documents and without any other testimony than that of two neighbors, who had been witnesses often for many years, of their free union and their marital disturbances, the couple were legitimately married. At the order of the government, the magistrates' clerks received them in groups of twenty and performed wholesale marriages. There were districts in Paris where during the forenoon three hundred marriages would be performed. Very frequently a little patrol of children would run before these couples and look on the proceedings with great amazement, shouting with glee that papa and mama had come to get married. Frequently and in every country, these marriages were entered into for the reason that the woman, as the wife of a soldier serving on the field of battle, was guaranteed certain economic privileges.

The infidelity of war wives constituted for years the mote in the eye of moralists, but life contradicted all predictions and speculations. At the beginning of the war Germany heard enthusiastic tirades concerning the moral earnestness of German women as contrasted with the frivolity of their enemy sisters in France. The question was there discussed whether women had sexual needs comparable to those of men. Vorberg wrote that, during the war, German women, in their difficult and trying circumstances, had other things in mind than to make themselves vessels of lust. German women, he thought, had nothing in common with those degenerate women who even in peace times pursue men.

Similarly, it was Dr. Frankel's opinion that the cares and the economic obligations of German women had grown so considerably that there was very little time or desire, for that matter, left to her to engage in amorous escapades. Moreover, there was very little temptation at home, for vigorous men either were lacking, or so sunk in terrifically important work that they were inaccessible; finally it was his opinion that the chief difference between the

sexes was that women had a much weaker libido, at least one-tenth of them being frigid. For women, erotical desires can become dormant during the illness of the husband, during widowhood, during the long absence of a husband away at war, even when the generative impulse was formerly normal. Of this Frankel was convinced as a result of his conversations with sensible women. And as to the virginal female, unless she has been awakened by false training, friends, pornographic reading or pathological temperament, she does not know the libido or at any rate only very diffusely in the subconscious, and has no *nisus sexualis*. A similar opinion was entertained by a woman authority on the subject who asserted that for a woman who was ethically on a high level the absence of her husband would not easily lead to infidelity. Such a woman is also seduceable but her senses only awake when the soul speaks too, and a whole world separates her from a man who does not captivate her whole interior life. That is why a woman can live for years and even, if necessary, forever in celibacy.

Alas for these lofty opinions! We have but to read what was written concerning the soldier's wife and her morality during the war years. People, who as a result of myopic prejudices, were unable to think through the moral consequences of the economic transformation of the tremendously altered conditions of life, took occasion to express their dismay at the moral decay. A very strong specimen of such an expression is the following: In May, 1915, the Mayor of Vorchach in Alsace-Lorraine issued a proclamation to the effect that morals in that city had suffered a remarkable decline, despite the great difficulties of the time, the poverty and the misery. The most lamentable sign of the demoralization of a certain class of women was that among them there were numerous frivolous married women whose husbands were in the field of battle. These dishonorable and shameless strumpets, who were undermining the foundations of their whole family, aroused his ire particularly. He asserted that all these malefactors were known to him and to his police officials and that similar trespasses in the future would occasion their arrest and branding. He expressed his great regret at not being able to administer public floggings to these miserable creatures.

In the Catholic magazine *Monika* (Number 24 for June 12, 1915) there appeared a long article under the title of *Bloody Tears Should Be Shed for These* which gives us a vivid picture of this evil. The director of a certain movie house was compelled to ap-

pear before his audience and to make the following remarks: "It has been reported to me that outside of the theater a trooper is now seeking admission in order to surprise his wife and her lover. I am tremendously concerned to avoid every bit of scandal; hence I beg those who are concerned by this to please leave by the little door at the right in front of the theater. This must happen at once for the infuriated husband trooper is already at the cashier's window buying his ticket." No sooner had these words been spoken than there was a rush for the door and a milling crowd of twenty-three couples disappeared in the semi-darkness and confusion.

It would be a fairly simple matter to fill many volumes with similar anecdotes and stories of the infidelity of soldiers' wives in Germany and Entente lands. We are only interested in the fact that during the war there was no strengthening of civil sexual morality but that, on the contrary, the opposite was true. A summary statement of this was given by Dr. Auer of the Superior Court of Budapest who asserted that from old experience (derived from peace times) it was possible to say that in those places where garrisons were quartered, immorality and illegitimate births increased, and indissolubly connected with these transgressions, pandering and abortion. These correlations of soldiery and immorality were, of course, maintained during the war in increased measure because there were the added factors of the frequent movement of great masses of men, the lack of any ordered family life, the absence of the husband and the increased erotic desire.

This development came to expression everywhere towards the end of the war in the increase of illegitimate births. Now this evil had one favorable consequence for the history of morals—during the war a good deal was done to diminish the difference between children born in and out of wedlock. In accordance with a petition of the Berlin Chapter of the League for the Defense of Mothers, the Reichstag, on August 4, 1914, came to the conclusion that federal war relief would be extended also to illegitimate children. Here was one movement inaugurated during the war which continued after the war and dealt heavy blows against bourgeois morality.

Professor Exner has made the following observations concerning the increase of infidelity and of abortion during the war: One infraction of morality of this period that had a far more destructive effect upon society than anyone, who knew only statistics and no more, could surmise was marital infidelity. The Austrian sta-

tistics were silent on this subject whereas in Germany figures showed a considerable decrease in the punishing of marital infidelities. This, however, proves nothing, for the absence of the husband naturally had the consequence of making the discovery and prosecution of the trespass more difficult. Nothing alters the undenied fact that marital infidelity increased to such a terrific extent that Wulffen could speak of the *triumphal march of infidelity*. This will not appear remarkable in view of the absence of the husbands and the numerous temptations surrounding the women, among which may be mentioned such items as night work in war industries, and living together with war prisoners, etc. If it is impossible statistically to assert how many war marriages were rapidly dissolved through infidelity, still the fearful frequency of divorces cast a lurid light on the whole business. Thus in Vienna, divorces became three times as numerous after the war as before.

The moral conditions of the time find a reflection also in another set of facts which interest us here—the statistics of abortions and murders of children. That both these crimes increased during the war there can be no question. The Austrian statistics again are silent on this subject but the German figures show a definite increase over the average of the pre-war period. A stronger proof for the correctness of our assertion can be found in the growth of abortion. In Germany the figures even show a decrease of conviction for this crime during the war but this favorable development is only in appearance for, whereas in the year 1917, there were 17.6 per cent fewer convictions than in pre-war days, this year also shows a decrease of births of 52.5 per cent. In Berlin, of one hundred women who in 1916 visited a clinic because of incomplete and insufficient abortion, eighty-nine had used abortifacients. Similar increases can be noticed in Mayence and Vienna; and we must remember that during the war, draconian penalties were inflicted for this practice. Thus in June, 1915, a seamstress of Berlin who had been accused of violating Paragraph 218 was sentenced to two years in the workhouse. The prosecuting attorney had moved for just one year but the court doubled the penalty on the ground that abortion, from the standpoint of the public welfare and health, was an extremely dangerous practice.

A consequence of the war, much less lamentable than abortion for the progressive student of population, is the dissemination during the war years of preventive measures and hence of a fall in population. Here again we are dealing with an important transfor-

mation of sexual morality whose consequences will remain operative in post-war times. Dr. M. Vaerting has said that the war contributed immeasurably to an employment of the technique of preventive intercourse among both men and women. As a result of the sudden and protracted separation of the sexes extra-marital sexual relations assumed tremendous proportions. It can be assumed, however, that all the men and women who engaged in such intercourse were almost without exception acquainted with the use of contraceptive measures. In addition the leaders of the military forces added the weight of their authority to the learning and teaching of the technique of preventive intercourse on a wholesale scale so that the medical corps gave methodical instructions to the soldiers on this matter calculated to help them escape venereal infection.

Even more illuminating for the understanding of popular opinion concerning the soldier's wife, the much maligned *straw-widow*, is a very typical Hungarian ballad that arose in the Magyar land during the year. These lines which show the extent of the infidelity of soldiers' wives and its permeation through vast stretches of the population are put into the mouth of a peasant woman whose husband is on the battle front and who receives relief at home. She expresses very definitely the opinion that she would rather not have him come home because she is having such a good time and has much more than she ever had before.

Many stories are extant concerning the fearful vengeance carried out by the soldier who returns home suddenly, on leave or permanently, and finds his faithless wife perhaps *in flagrante*. The almost sadistic joy in the discovery which frequently comes to expression in these stories, the utter incapacity to sympathize with these most unfortunate victims and to grant them their human rights, is one of the foul attendant circumstances of war. Perhaps we ought to give one example of an event of this sort.

One day a certain brave soldier, from whom no word had come for a whole year, returned home from the front. It may have been that his postal cards from the field of battle were miscarried or perhaps he couldn't write and had been unable to send any other messages. At any rate his wife sent both her children away to the "country" and began to lead a right merry life with a recently acquired lover. When the soldier came home and found his domicile locked he visited the neighbors. From them he learned that the children had been away from their mother for a long time and

that the latter generally returned home very late. From all these sources he was able to piece together the miserable story of his wife's frivolity and heartlessness. The soldier pretended that he didn't quite believe these shocking reports and waited for his wife from two o'clock in the afternoon to nine in the evening. Finally she arrived and expressed great delight at seeing her husband again after the many months of absence. He showed pleasure at this demonstration of affection, smiled graciously and kissed her tenderly as she fell upon his neck to the great astonishment of all the neighbors who had naturally expected quite a different reaction on her part. But for the moment she was, or pretended to be, the most loving wife in the world. The couple entered their home and everything was quiet. Towards midnight the neighbors were awakened by the most horrible screams which issued from the house of the soldier. They broke in the door and found the woman lying on the floor groaning and moaning in agonies of pain and the soldier getting ready to depart. What had happened? The deceived husband had lectured his wife on the subject of her infidelity and after a number of unsuccessful denials she confessed. Thereupon the husband declared that he would not decide upon her punishment until he had dined as he had been traveling for sixty hours. The woman lit a fire in the stove and began to cook, the man piling more coals into the stove until it was red hot. Then he tore the clothes from his wife's body and, naked as she was, set her upon the stove three times. She was brought to the hospital and he was brought before the military court. The incident happened at Altofen in July, 1916. This it appears that the cruel realities of life actually surpassed anything that was concocted by the imagination of the French novelist who wrote three volumes on the punishments of unfaithful wives.

When one turns even cursorily the pages of the newspapers during the period of the war, one can't help feeling that a methodical agitation was carried on to arouse in the soldiers the desire for fierce revenge against their unfaithful wives; this is especially true for the first two years of the war. We can only point in passing to the horrible actions of those men left at home as unfit for service and those jealous women rivals who wrote to the soldiers on the battlefield the reports of the unfaithfulness of their brides or wives.

But the whole confounded hypocrisy of war morality which poured its venom upon the unfaithful wives comes to light when we consider how the husbands of these wives regarded marital

fidelity when they were let loose in the trench brothel or the cabaret behind the lines. Actually the double morality of the bourgeois code of morals celebrated real orgies during the war. It is time to demand justice for the wives of soldiers who so frequently were denounced without any ground at all. During these years they suffered incredibly both in body and in soul; in body because, despite insufficient nourishment and compulsory continence, they had to perform tasks way beyond their capacities; and in soul, because they had to stand by and watch the neglect and undernourishment of their children and observe the multifarious terrors of war aside from their worries about their breadgiver or relative at the battle-front. A statistical explanation of this suffering that the women had to undergo is to be found in the horrible spread of psychic diseases among them.

Many students have discussed the question whether there are actual war psychoses, that is to say, mental disturbances called forth exclusively by the war, and a number of these scientists, including Oppenheimer, Mayer, Wallenberg, Bonhoeffer, have denied it. At the beginning of the war there was even a diminution of the number of mental patients which was praised as a definite sign of the nervous power of the population. However, it cannot be denied that effectual psychology experiences have the tendency to come to expression within an existing psychoses and to come to the surface in the most varied symptoms and the most numerous pathological forms. This is to say that the war complex will become increasingly effective in the symptomatology of the war psychoses and will give these mental disturbances a definite war-coloring. Among soldiers this war-coloring comes to very clear expression especially in perceptual illusions and maniacal ideas and even in the whole content of consciousness. Of course this particular quality of the psychoses reflecting the military disturbance of the time is much more easily seen in the man, especially in the soldier, than in the woman who stays at home for she does not come into direct contact with war and hears only indirectly from those who have experienced it or in reading about its atrocities and terrors.

But we are not concerned with investigating the exact nature of war psychoses. Let us admit that war is merely the direct or precipitated cause of the mental illness of these women which gives only a special coloring to their diseases. Nevertheless, it by no means follows that the war has not exercised a most decisive influence on

psychic disturbances in women. The psychic effect of war upon the women left at home is definitely one chapter in the history of the sorrows induced by the war which can not be omitted in any full and impartial analysis. We may remember the report of E. Mayer concerning a whole family in which a mother and two daughters became mentally sick under the influence of the war. A very rich collection of case histories relative to the subject of war psychoses is to be found in an essay of Stuckau.

The desire to escape the intense mental agonies caused by the sufferings and deprivations of war, some of which have been so vividly described in the essay of Stuckau just referred to, led to wholesale suicides. Naturally enough, we do not have satisfactory statistics on this subject for the very obvious reason that every land had a great interest in concealing such happenings; for it would not do to have the enthusiasm for war diminished as a result of publicly printing such events. We shall mention but one example of this governmental policy which will also serve as testimony of the spiritual degradation of man during the war. At the end of May, 1915, the German censor sent the following report to all German newspapers: "It is undesirable to print reports concerning the suicides of young girls as a result of the death of their betrothed. The publication of such senseless actions is to be prohibited because of its effect on the morale of the land and secondly because of the possible contagion and spread of these suicides." However, such ostrich policies were of very little avail. In every one of the war countries there was a veritable epidemic of suicides. The most that could be done was to avoid printing the motive of the acts, but the public could very well read it between the lines. Thus the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* of May 20, 1917, contained the following report: "Seeks Death Because Husband Dies. A twenty-five-year-old working woman, Aloisia K. yesterday threw herself out of a window on the third story of a house in Reinprechtsdorferstrasse and sustained a concussion of the brain, fractured skull, fractured thigh and other injuries. She was brought to the Franz Josef Hospital. Although Mrs. K. is the mother of three children she committed the act because of grief at the death of her husband. The police correspondent is silent on the cause of her husband's death but it is well known none the less."

Two cases of suicide may be quoted from the book of Stuckau: "Since mobilization the husband of P. is in the battlefield. Ever since that time she is very downcast, cries a lot, hardly cooks at



THE POPULAR PARISIAN CONCEPTION OF THE IMMORALITY OF WAR WIVES

all, says that she would gladly die of hunger together with her children, wants to run away continually, and especially towards evening becomes very listless. Eight days ago her husband came home on a three-day furlough. When he left she became terribly excited, declared that she couldn't live any longer and subsequently had dreadful headaches. Thereupon she was committed to an insane asylum. She was asked, 'Why are you here?' To this she answered, 'I have cried so much now I want to go back to my children and shan't cry any more. Please do me a favor and let me go. You see I must work. I only cried because my husband went away to the war. He came home on a visit and now has gone again. When he left I said a word which didn't mean what my sister-in-law thought it meant. One does talk much sometimes. I only said, "I have to die. I want to die if my husband should not come home again." I couldn't cook anything. When my husband was away I cried continually but now I shan't do it any longer for I made a new resolution yesterday. In the evening when I said my prayers I cried a great deal. This has been going on ever since the war

began and after my crying spells I couldn't sleep. My husband and I love each other very much and that is why I took it to heart so when he was gone.'"

The other case is that of Mrs. A. S., twenty-three years old, married a year and a quarter. "When her husband left to serve in the infantry she was gravid. Ever since his departure she is in a depressed and sorrowful mood, just sits still, cries a lot and stares at the floor. She was very poorly nourished, did very little for the household and never went out at all. Two months ago she attempted suicide and still has a red mark on her neck but it isn't known exactly what method of terminating her life she attempted to use. Recently she has again expressed her desire to take her life. Before her husband left her, however, she was always healthy and had never been in such a depressed condition."

A whole series of suicides (and of course the spiritual disturbances which had preceded them) occurred as a result of artificially implanted regrets. Now of these cases it can certainly be said that the number would have been considerably reduced had these unfortunate women, suffering from sex hunger, poverty and loneliness, found more sympathy and understanding. Innumerable are the consequences of the continence which bourgeois society sought to impose upon soldiers' wives without exception. Women who obeyed these commandments very often paid for their obedience in grave bodily disturbances. Almost the same sequelæ of abstinence manifested themselves among women as among men serving on the field of battle. In both cases abstinence resulted in two things: first in a serious impairment of health, and secondly in a subsequent orgy of sex indulgence. As far as the first consequence is concerned, Dr. Burchard has already established the fact that there was a definite increase in the dysthymic conditions which appear among women as a result of menstruation or climacteric pregnancy, parturition and lactation.

Moreover the famous Berlin gynecologist, Hirsch, has confirmed the report that war constituted a trauma of extraordinary force for the female psyche and that the psychological reaction varied with the resistance of the individual and his contribution to the sacrifices of war. No attentive observer could fail to note the almost pathological alteration of the female psyche under the hammer blows of war or the harmfulness to the whole nervous system, and the complete transformation which the war called for in the domain of sex. The sexual continence, suddenly made compulsory, drove many,

whose sexual impulse had received normal satisfaction in marriage, to self-satisfaction with all the nervous consequences that the autoerotic aberration always entails; and occasionally also to perversions, chiefly lesbianism. Many cases of marital infidelity, many a case of crime due to passion, many a drama of love should, from this point of view, deserve a milder judgment.

At this point we should mention another fact connected with this general theme of disturbances in the female induced by the war—the surprisingly common absence of the period. Whereas, as we have seen, all sorts of obstinate efforts were made to deny that the war psychoses constituted a specific disturbance, in the case of the disturbed or absent menses it was found absolutely necessary to use the expression coined by Dietrich, *war-amenorrhœa*. This disturbance was found in women who lived in the city as well as in the country and especially among those whose husbands or lovers were on the battlefield and who had to perform difficult bodily or mental work. This war-amenorrhœa came to expression in Germany as well as in other lands shortly after the outbreak of the war. However, in the middle of 1915 this condition became much more frequent and in the ensuing years was constantly on the increase. Professor Müller attributed this disturbance of the female periodical function to three factors, so-called etiological moments. These were malnutrition, the change in the mode of life brought about by the war, and, finally, the influence of the war upon the psyche. Professor Müller emphasized the fact that the psychological atmosphere played a not inconsiderable rôle in the war. As the war dragged on and reports trickled in from the battlefield about the death or grave injury sustained by loved ones, or perhaps by the capture of the loved one and interment in some enemy camp, and when these reports were repeated, the wives and mothers, sisters and brides affected naturally fell prey to deep depressive disturbances; and it is well known that even in peace times the latter conditions can induce *cessatio mensum*. We need not even assume as a supplementary factor the yearning for love so emphasized by Eckstein which of course is to be found in many cases and can undoubtedly be a co-factor in producing the disturbance in question. However, it must be asserted again that this compulsory sexual abstinence was certainly a contributing cause of the war-amenorrhœa we have been speaking about.

The reverse side of this abstinence is the fact so frequently found during the war, namely, the almost pathologically increased love

needs of the soldier's wife. That this erotic need was damned up by patriotic and national limits will certainly not appear strange to us, but during the war it was ferociously and insistently condemned. Today nothing seems to us more natural than that the woman suffering from sexual hunger should, if she is unwilling to forego normal sex life, find a partner wherever one is to be found. Since their own husbands were away the very numerous prisoners-of-war at hand were available as substitutes. This was especially true in the central states and in Russia after the revolution where the prisoners-of-war enjoyed a comparative degree of freedom, and, especially in the country, worked in the field side by side with women. In this way, love for prisoners-of-war became a typical phenomena of the war and one that could not be eradicated by any fervent patriotic phrases. Dr. Wilhelm Stekel has written a very readable article on this subject from which it appears that, even at the beginning of the war, in Germany all the newspapers complained about the obvious and even exaggerated kindness and gentleness with which the German women treated the prisoners-of-war. As an instance of this, Stekel cites the following news item from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. It appeared that two trains pulled into the Frankfurt station at the same time—one carrying German soldiers to the front, the other bringing French prisoners-of-war from the front. The German soldiers sang at the station as everywhere else and without any particular purpose the *Wacht am Rhein*. Whereupon a blonde woman, the wife of a pastor, called out from her little house that they ought to desist from singing their patriotic anthem out of consideration for the prisoners-of-war.

Stekel goes on to say that this love for prisoners must have some connection with the psychological constitution of women. It is silly to speak of the psychic inferiority of women in this connection, but women are above all children, and stand much closer to childish feelings than male adults. They are always attracted by the novel, and Stekel adduces as an example of this constant lure of the new and strange for women the queer predilection for Ashantis that for a while raged in Vienna. It appeared that in the Vienna Prater there was for some time a group of Ashanti negroes on exhibition. Soon it became known that many Viennese women would approach these negroes under different pretexts. We know the same is true of many American women who have striking inclinations for Chinese and negroes which they hide from the external world. Stekel, however, thought that a consideration of

this problem would lead much deeper and ultimately come to the influence of that remarkable phenomena which he called the *war of the sexes*. Between men and women there rages an eternal war in which there is only an armistice but no lasting peace. This war of the sexes abated during the World War apparently only because a common foe forced both sexes to combine against him. In reality women used the war to acquire the positions of men, some of them perhaps forever. Numerous women worked at the production of munitions and other vocations which had hitherto been closed to them. After the war they vociferously continued to demand the rights due to them and in England even during the war they rose up because they could point to their indispensability. This war of the sexes makes of man the natural enemy of woman. The enemy of the man therefore becomes in this roundabout way the ally of the woman. Stekel thinks that the love for prisoners is attributable to this feeling. Women love the enemy because (not despite the fact that) they hated the men. They were obeying some dark impulse to avenge themselves upon their husbands and to inflict upon them a peculiar painful punishment. The men of their own nation were by their infidelity dishonored, and the men of the foreign country were only used as a means for expressing their depreciation of the man who was close to them. The formula of the reaction might be "I love you because our men hate you."

In this way Stekel makes responsible for the widespread phenomena of love for enemy prisoners the so-called hatred of the sexes which has been propounded by a number of students. Others, however, have emphasized more the other element mentioned by Stekel, namely, the charm of novelty which a great number of women cannot resist. Vorberg inclined to this explanation. He has pointed out that just as in peace time the fair sex had manifested an inclination for Senegalese, Bedouins and other colonials, so it cannot be accounted as remarkable that they were now attracted by foreign soldiers. There are certain women who would always be attracted to men of strange appearance and alien odor. For such women, most of whom lack some serious activity to fill their life, the foreigner would be a long desired change in the uniform monotony of their everyday existence. A foreigner is the great unknown who gives the woman ground to hope for something extraordinary, exciting, electrifying.

It cannot be doubted that such, and similar tendencies of women were concerned in the numerous infidelities with prisoners-of-war,

yet we believe that in the majority of cases there is a simpler explanation which is quite satisfactory—namely, the absence of men and the consequent sexual hunger of the women. Naturally this explanation, simple as it is, would not find ready hearing during the war because of the needs of propaganda. The love affairs with prisoners were, and remained, an almost insoluble problem for the authorities who were entrusted with its solution. In France and England proximity to prisoners-of-war was almost impossible and yet even here the relationships between women and prisoners existed. Indeed in France women were sentenced to death because they had aided their beloved prisoners to escape. But it is in Germany, Austria and Russia where these phenomena can be regarded as typical. Especially in Germany such cases were a steady item on the court dockets. Society and the authorities worked hand in hand to combat this undesirable love for prisoners-of-war but all the patriotic enthusiasm notwithstanding their efforts remained unavailing—a circumstance which can serve as proof that we are dealing here not with a pathological excitation but with a general symptom of war. Perhaps a few examples would be helpful:

The general staff at Leipzig reported that in the first quarter of 1917 no less than twenty-five girls and women were punished for having relations with the prisoners-of-war. Most of these women were imprisoned. At Innesbruck during the last period of the war there was active a certain society called *The Cowards' League* whose object it was to publicly beat such dishonorable girls and women who had entered into relations with prisoners-of-war. Grabinski has made a very interesting collection of numerous cases of this sort that took place in the year 1916 and the reader is referred to that source for further information. In 1918, when the question of amnesty for soldiers' wives was discussed in Germany, certain groups were of the opinion that this amnesty should not be extended to those women who had been imprisoned because of prohibited intercourse with prisoners-of-war.

The social side of this painful problem deserves cursory notice at least. Almost always in these convictions which we have been speaking of, the accused were members of the urban or rural proletariat. It was nearly always peasant and working women who were indicted for the prohibited relationship. Women of the higher classes of society could satisfy their sex hunger in less dangerous ways. The accusation is not unjustified that the patriotic prohibition of love stopped at the threshold of the good bourgeois houses.

When during the war the Hungarian dramatist, Desider Szomory, presented upon the stage a love affair between a Hungarian noblewoman and a Russian prisoner-of-war working upon her estate, no one, as far as we know, had any objection to this. In addition to love for prisoners, the woman suffering from sex hunger had numerous other ways for satisfying her desire. In his famous novel of the war, *The Class of 1902*, Gläser had recorded a number of actual incidents where young men were seduced by soldiers' wives. Such seductions not infrequently came before the courts. Let us relate briefly a case of this sort which Dr. Hans Menzel has written under the title, *The Rape of Men by Women*.

It appears likely that as a result of the lack of men during the war, which condition may be expected to continue for a number of years after the armistice, the rape of men was not an infrequent occurrence and indeed may be expected to recur in the future ever so often. At any rate there are extant a number of cases of rape perpetrated by women against men. Recently a woman came to one of the Breslau municipal information bureaus to inquire whether she was justified in recalling at once her sixteen-year-old son who was in service at a large estate in Silesia. The youth was unwilling to serve there any longer because he was continually being annoyed by two girls. The youth who was physically and psychologically normal reported that in addition to him there were three other servants on the estate—a man of about thirty, temporarily released from war, and two girls twenty and twenty-five years old respectively. The older servant girl had a relationship with the older servant and the younger one was pursuing him. As he was offering strong resistance to her maneuvers the other servants at first insulted and mocked him in the most indecent way. Finally they seized him one day, and while the others held him, the sex-hungry servant who had been pursuing him pulled off his trousers and grasped his organ. She then went through many vigorous gyrations until she was appeased by the terrified youth.

We may assume that the sexual hunger of soldiers' wives very frequently led to pseudo-homosexual actions. By this term we desire to designate (following Iwan Bloch and Magnus Hirschfeld) the assumption of homosexuality without the congenital psychic disposition for it. Considering the constitutional character of homosexuality, there is no doubt that true homosexuality will not arise as a result of abstinence. While we can by no means agree to the false assumption that there is danger of a change in the sexual drive as a

result of abstinence, nevertheless, it is true that homosexual practices constitute yet another proof of the devastating effect of abstinence, for here is a case where human beings were driven to actions which are really unnatural, not at all in the nature of those who do them. (Here and there, to be sure, some of these women may have been constitutional homosexuals who had merely been doing violence to their natures in marriage.)

Inasmuch as there are very few cases reported in literature we shall content ourselves with relating a correspondence that has come to us from a village in Holstein:

Shortly before the war a neighbor got a new servant girl to whom men were utterly repugnant but who very frequently, even in the presence of the master of the household and myself, would sit upon the lap of her mistress and kiss her, which would apparently please the mistress a great deal. On the third day of the mobilization the husband was recruited and it appeared to me as though the woman was extremely happy over the fact that she was getting rid of her husband. In the meantime there was all manner of talk in the village concerning these two. Once I myself was an eye-witness to a very telling scene. Both women were seated outdoors in the garden and taking their pleasure undisturbed while I stood nearby. Once when her husband came home for a few weeks on furlough, the woman would have nothing to do with him. She refused to let him touch her on the ground that he had lice, and he had to sleep in a separate chamber while she and the girl slept together. When the war was over the woman rapidly put an end to the marriage by telling her husband very unequivocally that she no longer needed a man, that she could do without him and that he could go whence he had come. (The writer of the letter, a country gentleman of Holstein, went on to explain that the divorce suit of this couple lasted thirty months because the ground for divorce originally adduced, namely, the homosexuality of the woman was unrecognized as such but was finally granted on the ground of the denial by the wife of the marital privilege.)

An Englishman who participated in the war has submitted to us a lengthy description of the homosexuality of English women during the war—a fact which has remained fairly unknown and of course inaccessible to statistical measurement and manipulation. If we are to believe the writer, auto-erotic intercourse as substitute satisfaction became exceedingly popular among the women of Albion who are so frequently regarded as unfeeling and cold.

Consideration of space prevents us from expiating on various other consequences of the sexual hunger of women. Thus in one case known to me a woman asked her husband, who was on the field of battle, to send her his shirts and when they came she would inhale their odor ecstatically and thus excite herself to the point of orgasm. The incredible spread of prostitution, especially in the larger cities, which we shall consider very shortly, is to an appreciable extent also attributed to this sexual hunger even if it must be admitted that here as everywhere the economic factor is paramount. It is certainly true that at least a large percentage of female derelictions during the war, especially in the central European states, were due entirely to economic distress. In this connection too the fateful effect of the war cannot be glazed over for the economic misery was in turn a natural consequence of the war with its hunger blockade and its fantastically multiplied production of war materials. But perhaps the most devastating fact in all this array of pitiful circumstances is the complete lack of understanding with which the war mentality regarded this dereliction of the soldier's woman—the real martyr of the war of men. (Perhaps France was to some degree an exception in this regard.) Instead of regarding it as a natural consequence of war and pardoning it, society continued to measure women by the gauge of a straight-laced morality applicable to normal times. Only very few people could achieve that minimum of understanding which was expressed in the resumé concerning the soldier's woman by the staff-physician, Frankel, already mentioned above. It was his opinion that the women of the war period suffered severely and underwent severe struggles within themselves. When they slipped, their mis-step was fraught with very serious consequences for themselves, their marriage, morality, truth and eventually for life and health. If they controlled themselves, then their usefulness, their calm and finally their health was severely disturbed during their period of strain. As we have accompanied the woman in her protracted journey through the sorrows of war and seen all the ills that she was heir to, we can well understand why it was that at the end of the war, the serious anti-war propaganda was always directed to the woman, aiming to win new power and effectiveness out of her sufferings and to establish a strong and continuous organization to make impossible the repetition of such suffering. That every woman and especially every proletarian woman who went through the war necessarily became an adherent of pacifism and that the latter

movement merged indissolubly with the women's movement is perhaps the strongest hope for the future. We will close this chapter concerning the sufferings of women during the war with a mention of the poetic vision by Erich Kästner called *Fantasy for the Day after Tomorrow* in which the poet envisions an uprising of all women in the event of another war. The women of every single land rebel and march upon the homes of the chiefs of the army, of the banks, of the industries, of the government and haul out the bigwigs, who manipulate wars for their profit, and taking them over their knee administer a severe drubbing to the latter which effectively silences their call to arms; thus the war does not materialize and it ends almost immediately after it has begun.

Chapter 3

EROTICISM OF NURSES

Sexual Curiosity of Nurses—Nursing as Sex Outlet—Erotic Nature of Occupation—Coprolagnic Pleasures—Their Demoralizing Influence—Chronique Scandaleuse of Amatory Relations—Parisian Prostitutes Disguised as Nurses—Nurses' Garb Used in Shady Dealings—Erotic Determinants of Nursing—Curious Pathologic Cases—The "Love Expenders"—The Evil Reputation of Nurses—Strange Visits of Women to the Trenches—Nurses in Khaki—Sadistic Aspects of War Nursing—Erotic Stimulation of Bloody Deeds—Abuse of Enemy by Women—Reaction of Soldiers to Lusts of Nurses

IN two ways did woman come into direct contact with the actual conduct of war: first as nurse, and, secondly and less commonly, as active warrior. In this chapter we wish to consider the erotic motives which play a greater or less rôle in nursing.

That the care of the sick is an essentially female occupation which is based on the natural characteristics and disposition of woman has long been known, nor was the knowledge of this fact impaired during the war. First, because all the unfavorable experiences of the war in this respect to the contrary notwithstanding, the old point of view was retained anyhow; and secondly, because the warring states were too busy replacing male workers by females in order to release as much *human material* as possible for direct participation in the waging of war.

In regard to our first point, the question of the natural disposition of women for the care of the sick, the connections with sexuality had long been apparent. Nevertheless in this respect too the war purveyed valuable contributions for the deeper understanding of the female psyche. In all too many cases one was compelled by the experiences of the war to drop the assumption of a casual relationship between female pity and an internal inclination to the care of the sick. On purely speculative grounds Weininger had come to this conclusion long before the war even though he still maintained a belief in the natural capacity of women for the care of the sick:

"It is especially the generosity of the woman and her pity which has given rise to the pretty legend of the psyche of woman and the decisive argument of all belief in the higher ethical status of woman—as nurse, as merciful sister. . . . It is short-sighted to hold woman's nursing of the sick as a proof of her pity, for the opposite conclusion seems rather to follow from the fact. Man is so constituted that he could never be an onlooker of the pains of the sick; he

would always suffer so much under these conditions that he would be completely undone. For that reason the care of the sick would be impossible for him. Anyone who has observed nurses closely has noted with astonishment that they remain unmoved and *tender* even under the most frightful agonies of a dying man and so it is obvious that a man who would be unable to go through such a spectacle would be a bad nurse. A man would wish to alleviate the pain, to stay death, in a word, to help; where he would be unable to help there would be no place for him. Then the female nurse would have to come in to do her share. However, it would be quite unjust to regard their value from any but a utilitarian standpoint."

It must be admitted that Weininger was right even in his last sentence. During the war the utilitarian standpoint was so dominant that all others receded before it. The female nurse was employed and the abuses which inevitably followed on the widespread usage of this institution were permitted to go unobserved. And it was quite clear that a considerable portion of the female nurses were impelled to nursing by quite other than patriotic and humanitarian motives.

It is a known fact that it was always women of the higher ranks who, especially in the first months of the war, crowded the steps of the train depots where the transports bearing wounded soldiers stopped, and called into being a cult of the wounded whose erotic background did not remain concealed, even to the public opinion that at the beginning was so enthused about the war and so inclined to overvalue all patriotic services. Whether the erotic or the play motif predominated in this depended on the situation in question. It must not be supposed, incidentally, that the play motif was a rare thing. In a brochure on the rôle of woman during the war which the French academician, Frederick Masson, issued in 1915, we find the statement that "*certaines femmes seraient disposés à faire joujou avec les blessés.*" And the same author in speaking of the abundant proofs for the striking similarity of conditions in all the warring states speaks of the cult of the wounded among the French women as a temporary and effective substitute for the five o'clock tea and the most titillating sort of flirtation.

In other cases the care of the sick exercised by these well-situated dilettantes consisted of the most oppressive annoyances—concerning which many tales were current during the war. One of the many popular anecdotes which we now quote is characteristic of the

opinion of soldiers about the cult of the wounded exercised and developed at their expense:

A wounded soldier lay still and stark in a hall in which the professional forces of the Red Cross were exercising their difficult duties quietly and satisfactorily. But apart from these professional forces a number of women came into the ward during the day—women of the highest rank, women who were ignorant of these methods, but women who possessed an unconquerable impulse to show their good will. They had done one little thing or another and so it had been difficult to prohibit them from entering the ward and trying to make themselves useful. One such lady came over to the wounded soldier who had to lie still.

“Can I do something for you perhaps?”

“No. I thank you.”

“But perhaps I ought to wash your face a bit with vinegar water.”

The answer was “Hm.” The lady took the little sponge which was at hand, dipped it into the water which was prepared and then drew it over the face of the wounded man—a procedure which had been shown her.

“Do you perhaps want something else?”

But now the simple Bavarian could no longer contain himself. “Do you know, I did not want to disturb your pleasure, but you are without exaggeration the sixteenth one that has washed my face today.”

In another connection we have already referred to the fact that serious scientists have regarded the nursing activities of the women as being one way of sublimating the libido and achieving sexual pleasure. This was especially the case among the volunteer nurses who were recruited from the best circles. At least a considerable proportion of these women had from the start no trace of any ethical motive; and the incapacity of the women recruited from the upper class to carry out the very heavy and unpleasant task of caring for the sick was there even when her activity was not merely a social sport with greater or less erotic coloration. For the patient always had the feeling of insulting the high-born condition of his nurse by requesting the lowly and rather nasty things that he needed. The Hungarian soldier who tortured himself for a half-day because he did not have the courage to demand of his fine and distinguished volunteer nurse the requisite vessel is one case among thousands. This reticence was also observed in the relations with

the professional nurses but of course to a much lesser degree since, for the latter, it was a question of elementary professional duties.

Remarque has left us a contribution to this question. His hero and a comrade are riding homeward in the wounded car. During the night the hero wakes and turns to his comrade:

"Do you know where the latrine is?"

"I believe that to the right you have the door."

"I'll see." It is dark. I feel for the edge of the bed and want to slip off carefully but my foot finds no support. I begin to slip. My plaster cast leg is no help and with a crash I am lying on the floor.

"Damn!" say I.

"Have you bumped up against something?" asks Kopp.

"You could jolly well have heard the noise," I growl back. The door opens behind us in the car, the sister comes in with a light and sees me. "He has fallen out of his bed."

She feels my pulse and my forehead. "You have no fever."

"No," I agree.

"Were you dreaming then?" she asks.

"I suppose."

And so I again avoid asking my question. She looks at me with her blue eyes. She is so clean and lovely that it is impossible for me to tell her what I want. I am again lifted up and when she goes out I try once more to slip off the bed. If she were an old woman it would be easy for me to tell her but she is very young—twenty-five at the most and I just can't bring myself to tell her what I want.

Now Albert comes to my help and he isn't quite so hesitant about the matter because, after all, it doesn't concern him. He calls the sister and she turns around.

"Sister," he says, "he wants——." But Albert also is ignorant of the term to use, a term that will be decent and inoffensive. We have one word for it when we talk among ourselves but not here before such a lady. However, just then he remembers something from his school days and he finishes the sentence with "He would like to leave the room, sister."

"Oh well," answers the sister. "Certainly he needn't have clambered out of bed with his plaster cast for that."

"What will you have then?" she inquires of me.

I am frightfully scared of the turn the conversation has taken and I have no notion at all how the things are termed professionally. The sister comes to my help by asking, "Small or large?"

I sweat like an ape and mumble in my confusion, "Oh well, a small one."

Well even this was somewhat lucky. I receive the bottle. After a few hours I was no longer the only one and by morning we had all become accustomed to require without any shame that which we needed.

Now it must be made clear that this modesty of the man rested on a false presupposition for the distinguished and high-born nurses as well as the professionals who in no way shared these feelings. On the contrary, they were frequently led into the hospital by desires which had a very definite libidinous coloring—to observe closely the intimate details of the male organism. An Austrian soldier has made the following note in his war diary:

"It is quite undescrivable how the ladies who receive the wounded at the station in G— acted toward us. For the most part we were in a horrible condition, shot up and just worn out completely by the journey and among us there was one comrade who had to have a leg amputated at once. Very frequently these women would insist that we undress although it wasn't necessary. Every two minutes we were asked whether we didn't have to satisfy any needs. Of course we had our own opinion on that subject but we were too tired to complain or to contradict."

In the most splendid of all war books Karl Kraus has one of the regimental physicians of the Austrian army and his colleague have the following conversation which is relevant to our theme:

The regimental physician: "Yesterday we had an awful day at the hospital. The nurse Adele has an enormous fear of me and she dropped the bed-pan of a Bosnian soldier. You should have seen the great merriment the others derived from this until I came by. Of course the women must be impressed. But yesterday at all events we had a great day."

The colleague: "The same conditions obtain among us. The greed of these aristocratic women is quite incomprehensible to me. The others serve in the linen rooms, pantries and so forth, but the aristocrats desire nothing more or less than service with the bed-pans."

The regimental physician: "I must confess that at the beginning I was intrigued to see such fine girls doing such work. But one becomes dulled to such matters. I wondered to myself, 'Why do they do it?' For patriotism and so forth. But where have I read that we, the physicians, should be against it because the shock which the

female nervous system derives eventually makes nurses entirely unfit for marriage. It is a problem, but one would be insane to worry about problems during the war."

Again we have the report of Lieutenant Federl who was captured by the French. He asserted that when at a certain station he desired to visit the privy, the ladies of the Red Cross who were accompanying the soldiers demanded that the door remain open and all these women observed him as he performed these natural functions.

Numerous similar stories are told concerning French ladies of the best social circles which may be accounted for partially by the unconcern of the French in these matters. One need think only of the public privies in the Parisian streets in which the man can quietly perform his functions while the upper portion of his body can stick out from a narrow aperture and continue undisturbed his conversation with the woman standing nearby. Masson, in the book already mentioned, has established this coprolagnic pleasure in French women during the war.

Not only is it certain that the motives which drew many women, especially of the better classes, to nursing are difficult to explain without the point of view of the psychopathia sexualis but conversely that the moralizing influence, which this altruistic profession was expected to exert upon the men were for the most part quite unrealized during the World War. In his frequently quoted book Eberhard has cited the following statement of the superintendent of nurses in a hospital which had originally appeared in the *Deutscher Evangelische Frauenzeitung*:

"No one who has not been a nurse knows to how many moral dangers she is exposed. Nursing as such does not entail or exercise any exalting influence just because certain pious and noble women have manifested devotion and love to their neighbors. It has been assumed fallaciously that it was such service which made these women noble but this is not the case; the reverse is rather true. For example, the danger of a nurse becoming hard and dull is very large and real; unfortunately in all organizations there are nurses who have become hard and callous. And nobody has a finer appreciation of this condition of the nurse than the patient himself who, as a result of his physical pains and weaknesses, has become a more sensitive person than the healthy man. Furthermore, in the mental and physical defenselessness of the patient there is the temptation that the nurse will involuntarily seek to abuse her unconditional

power and exercise an intolerable tyranny over the sick. But of course the greatest danger of all lies in the care of men and in the continuous intercourse with the young physicians. All these dangers increased enormously during the war. There are extant numerous proofs of the misuse of the nurse's authority. In the anonymous German novel of the war called *Hagen Im Weltkrieg* there is an interesting conversation between two soldiers at the front who have very depressing things to relate concerning this particular matter. Thus one relates the following:

“‘I am talking against the whole system to which the soldier is exposed, the soldier whose highest duty and honor lies in his obedience. Now, take for example, the examinations, in the examining room of the Red Cross nurses. I think that it is a real shame. I myself have been in the psychopathic department of a garrison hospital where the soldiers had to stand in line naked and wait for the physician, while three young geese in nurses' clothing continually went to and fro bearing a certain very significant smile on their impudent little faces. It is an unheard of thing that immature girls, ministers' daughters and that sort of people, who at home and school were taught that nakedness is a sin, should be asking the soldiers whether they have a venereal disease and if so where they got it, and in certain cases even actually taking a specimen. This is especially strange considering the fact that our culture is so very prudish and that our ministers, for example, go into such a huff whenever they see statues of naked people. Or take, for example, another experience that I had where a certain lady had a job as a secretary to a physician. Among her duties she had to prepare the patients (psychopaths) for examination and even to assist in the actual examination in which the psychotics had to pull up their shirts and expose their private parts. One can understand how her chaste sensibilities were prostituted and grossly abused in this procedure. If conditions were reversed then every paper would be full of outcries against the immorality. Finally, I might say, that I was present when nurses made their rounds with the visiting physicians in the venereal ward and did things which the mass of orderlies standing around could just as well have done.’”

The superintendent, Margot von Bonin, whom Eberhard has quoted, did not mention certain other dangers which the female nursing corps was exposed to and which, from the standpoint of bourgeois morality, must appear very considerable indeed. Insofar as these hazards issued in a greater erotic freedom for the nurses,

we believe that we can attribute that freedom to the material independence which these women derived from their profession. We omit at this point any consideration of the escapades between nurses and soldiers—a matter with which the *chronique scandaleuse* of the war years was filled to overflowing. They are scarcely to be considered as anything other than a natural consequence of woman's active participation in a profession—a phenomenon which finds its parallel in the life of women active in other vocations. Everywhere material independence goes hand in hand with a freer conception of sexual morality so that we can not believe that the nurse's way of life has anything particularly symptomatic about it. The most that we can say is that the great pleasure which accompanied the composition and narration of these scandalous stories during the war was rather symptomatic of the pathologically increased erotic interest of the time.

During the war there was a popular song current in Hungary concerning the more than doubtful reputation of the nurses. Objectively it can be said that this bad reputation was shared by all categories of nurses from the kitchen personnel to the Red Cross nurses, deaconesses and even Catholic sisters. Of course there are no statistics by the aid of which we can control these assertions. One fact must not be overlooked in this connection—that among the nurses there were a not inconsiderable portion of erstwhile prostitutes. Thus in the cities of the north of France, especially in Calais, formal raids had to be carried out among the thousands of Belgian women who streamed across the French border after the capture of Antwerp by the Germans. These raids were not so much concerned with the finding of women spies as with the elimination of certain girls who had been street-walkers in Brussels and Antwerp and were now continuing their maneuvers in the populous little cities of northern France; only now they wore the simple black and white garb of the nurse.

It was notorious that a great number of prostitutes dressed as nurses were functioning behind the Russian front and even in the scene of operations. In Berlin, as Iwan Bloch reported, at a physicians' meeting shortly after the war, a considerable number of prostitutes under the mask of nurses were arrested by the police. To weaken his allegations somewhat Iwan Bloch reminded his audience that in peace times also the raiment of the nurse had frequently been employed by prostitutes. In a German legal paper for 1915 we find a statement of the Chief Justice Stendahl con-

cerning the protection of the nurses' garb which was so frequently being abused. The complaint was there made that very frequently people would appear in this outfit who certainly were pursuing very different ends from what their professional uniforms entitled them to perform. All sorts of commercial and swindling practices were abetted during the war period by the employment of this outfit. Thus a certain publishing firm distributed its productions of a rather frivolous nature through sixty girls who went from house to house dressed in nurses' uniforms.

It may be advisable, in considering the erotic determinants of nursing, to distinguish between cases in which this activity was a means to an end and such to which it was an end in itself. In the first case, where the nurse conserved her activity as being a road to a definite goal, this goal can be said to have been an erotic one. Thus many a girl, who before the war was for one reason or another unable to achieve the happiness of a good bourgeois marriage, was impelled by the hope of getting a man more easily as a result of her nursing activities. And, as a matter of fact, this did actually happen in a great number of cases. Nevertheless it was this fact which to some extent contributed to the evil reputation of the nurses.

During the years of the war many stories were current concerning the self-sacrificing care and devotion which the nurses expended upon the wounded, the love which developed in the ensuing convalescence between the grateful young soldier and the woman rejoicing in her opportunity to be of service, the whole episode finally culminating in marriage. However, as a matter of fact, these stories very frequently had quite a different ending. Far more numerous were the number of these instances where the nurse saw all her devotion and love and self-sacrifice misused, rejected and abandoned. Many a nurse was deceived in her calculation of nursing activity as a bridge to marriage. It may be that there were numerous cases of the sort reported by a soldier at the front who described at great length the suicide of a nurse whose offer of marriage had been rejected by an officer after he had had intimate relations with her. This soldier had been part of the corps that had buried this unhappy woman at the military cemetery at Guise. It seems to us that this case is more or less typical and that numerous other cases of this sort happened not only at the front but also in the hinterland. For those women also who hoped to achieve more suitable conditions for the seizure of a bit of love the profession of nursing

was a means to an erotic end. We are concerned in this case for the most part with virgins or spinsters, half or totally withered, for whom the hospital filled with men of all sorts was an incomparable opportunity. In his novel, *Pastor's Anna*, Henel has given us a picture of the motives that impelled an exceedingly strait-laced daughter of the pastor of a city in eastern Prussia to become a nurse. He points out there that the elderly maiden, who otherwise would have dared only to indulge in silent and tearful dreams concerning the appearance and form of a man, was now working at a surgical station in the most delicate situations and without any qualm or hesitation was manipulating naked male bodies. Of course there was a certain amount of bravery attached to working at this war station but at the same time it afforded her a certain satisfaction. She thought less that war was dreadful because it could inflict horrible wounds, and much more of the fact that it permitted women to come into contact with so many men without flinching at all.

In those cases where the care of the wounded was an end in itself the selflessness and self-sacrifice quality of many magnanimous women bore very noteworthy fruits. Of course there was no lack of heroic deeds among these women which contributed considerably to the construction of legends concerning these nurses. But while we will admit this fact and do not abate one iota of respect for these contributions, nevertheless we want to take a little more time to investigate the sexual-psychological side of the problem; we therefore avoid giving any statistical estimates concerning the number of cases in which pure love of humanity or genuine patriotism can be regarded as sufficient motives.

There is an amazing amount of proof to establish the fact that the care of the sick was not only a means but also an end in itself in the vast number of cases colored with a very libidinous streak. Protagonists of the theory that in woman all the expressions of life are far more deeply rooted and anchored in sexuality than in man, may find in such cases support for their position. Without taking sides in this question we will just let some of these cases speak for themselves. In Dr. Wilhelm Steckel's outstanding book, *Psychosexueller Infantilismus*, which contains a very rich collection of case histories, we find the following assertion:

"A very interesting narcissistic type is constituted by those people who just can't bear to see the happiness of other people in their presence. These abnormal individuals want to mean something,

want to do something for others, want to help them, want to console them, want to expend love upon them. These narcissists love only themselves but they are enamored of the position of the *love-expenders* or the *love distributor*. During the war I could observe numerous examples of this type among the nurses. . . . The following is an example of this condition. A very intelligent nurse has given me the following description of her condition: 'I am forty-eight years old and I can very calmly confess to you that there is no joy as great for me as the sight of gratitude in the eyes of a man whom I am nursing. This joy is like an intoxication. It is the only orgasm which I have been able to feel in life. Love I have never desired but I have always yearned for gratitude. . . . I have had numerous relationships but I have always given myself out of pity and out of a feeling that the man might be made happy. I confess, too, that I am proud, even vain of my talent as a nurse. I want to be loved and admired by the patients. I want to pass through the ward like a mild and generous fairy expending love and conferring happiness.' "

In addition we find in the relevant literature ample proof for the inordinate or abnormal desire on the part of the nurse for seeing sexually flavored spectacles, and also for a certain *voyeur* condition with mysoophilic components, as well as a certain sadistic nuance in their activity. A splendid presentation of all these factors has been given by, perhaps, the best student of this question, the French physician, Dr. Huot. Concerning his nurses he has written the following:

"In the rather modest circle of activity which was allotted to them, their eagerness for fire made insatiable demands that were only satisfied when they had one transport of wounded after another and they were sad and jealous when the nearby service station had more customers than they. Even more significant is the attraction exercised upon all alike by the tragedy-laden atmosphere of the operating room. It was their highest desire to attend operations and in this they were absolutely blind and deaf to the worse sort of impacts upon their senses, the groans of the wounded, the moans of agony, they never for a moment lost their cold-bloodedness or skill. With equal passion these young women and girls gave themselves to the bandaging of the most frightful wounds and the most grievously wounded without shuddering at a single contact with the most disgusting and exciting circumstances. It is very difficult to reconcile this devotion of the nurses to the wounded

and especially the grievously wounded, with the legend of the weakness and over-susceptibility of women. I may be permitted to recall that a very significant personality has used in this connection the word *sadism*. Modesty forbids me to say anything in contradiction that has come from so distinguished a quarter. Nevertheless, I would rather see in this an expression of that tendency of the French women which is directed with all possible energy against the unsatisfying reputation of the *weak sex* which they regard as extremely annoying and undesirable. . . . But still another point must be emphasized—that mysterious feeling, that somewhat perverse disturbance which, when it arises, stirs up certain women with the prickling compulsion of a physical desire and impels them against their will to seek a nervous excitation which they have never yet felt and which they hope to find in the odor of blood and in the sight and touch of palpitating male flesh. Perhaps this is the best point to say something concerning the oft-mentioned connection between female sadism and war. From another side too, the thesis is supported that the hyper-activity induced by the war, with the resulting uninterrupted strain of the nerves, called forth in many women with a predisposition for that sort of thing, a higher irritability of the reproductive centers which always reacts so promptly to the foremost considerations of the organic disturbance. This fact appears to me to be undeniable in respect to the civil female population at the front—a consideration of whom from this standpoint is especially interesting.”

Aside from the great excitement induced by the continuous pressure of danger and of the thundering of the cannonade, it appears as though the irritating smoke of the constant shooting which had settled down upon all the cities and villages adjacent to the firing line had filled them with a certain fluid, with a certain intoxicating poison which set these women into a state of tremendous excitement. In one of our most beautiful places the female population made the most violent and passionate protest against the removal of a certain division of soldiers and flooded the military authorities with reproaches, and nearly rioted to keep these soldiers within their own walls. We might recall the case of the young lady of Rheims whose violent amorous ecstasy was one night disturbed by a terrific bombardment. The ardent young woman would by no means desist from her activity and insisted upon completing the amorous process, clinging almost insanely to her partner so that he could scarcely breathe; he had to use all his power to free himself

from this woman and fled to a cellar. The odd fact that the nature of war atrocities and bloody deeds have an erotic effect upon women was made long before the war and was merely confirmed during it. Throughout the war there were many parallels to the execution of Damians reported by Casanova, which the ladies of Paris observed from their windows in a veritable paroxysm of erotic delight and amused themselves throughout the day with the most terrific suffering of the poor tortured creature. And while we refuse to believe entirely the tales of German prisoners-of-war of being insulted, abused and manhandled by women during their journey through Paris and other French cities, we can very well believe that certain of these sadistic excesses—as exposure of the rear portion, spitting on them, manhandling them with sticks and umbrellas, etc.—may very well have occurred.

There is one more question to be answered: how the men, especially the patients, reacted to the excitements and lusts of the nurses. We have already seen that corresponding to the *voyeuses*, the soldier manifested a definite modesty, or, as we might more correctly say, a lack of correlative exhibitionism.

During the war years public opinion treated the nurses nearly always from the erotic point of view but in a thoroughly ambivalent fashion. On the one hand the transfigured form of the nurse was put in the center of every idealistic cult which was nevertheless thoroughly libidinous; and on the other side it seemed that a special pleasure was taken in besmirching this ideal figure, of attributing all her activities to thoroughly erotic motives in a much more comprehensive way than anything we have here attempted. In general the impression created was that the nurse had to be either an angel or a whore. That the evil reputation proved itself in general to be stronger than the idealizing tendency is partly due to the physicians who in general had a very derogatory opinion concerning their female help. In the dialogue of the two Austrian physicians quoted above from Karl Kraus's novel the nurses are called simply *Weiber* (women), which corresponds quite well to the general practice during the World War. Even the common soldiers had but little more respect for the sisters, an attitude which all the propaganda in behalf of the nurses at home could not alter. It is not impossible that one of the motives for this disrespect was a kind of erotic jealousy, for in a number of respects the conduct of the great number of these nurses was not such as to call forth the sympathies of the ordinary soldier. Any soldier who had ever been at the front

knew that the nurses adored the officers, that in many cases they openly showed that they felt themselves above the common patient, by a class-consciousness that was quite unfounded, feeling themselves to be in the same class as the officers. What was worse everybody knew about the amours of the nurses which most frequently were carried on with the officers rather than with the common men.

The sadistic pleasure of the nurses in drastic excitations of the senses, of which service in the hospital offered more than enough, enables us to understand the desire of many nurses to get as near to the firing line as possible. That this tendency was not something accidental, but somewhat more or less symptomatic of the times can be gathered from a number of similar reports. Thus Professor Hohenegg of Vienna wrote that a great portion of the volunteer nurses requested service at the front and Dr. Huot was able to report the same conditions concerning his nurses who had already been through the fire. "Among many," he said, "who had been placed in an erethic condition by the continual bombardment, the wish became very strong to serve in the very front line. . . . And how these nurses cursed their sex which prohibited them from sharing dangers and fame by the side of the men, and their inability to be admitted to the actual scene of operations in the same way as men."

Actually it happened repeatedly during the war that nurses would spend some time on the very front line of battle. Thus a few women, most of Hungarian descent, spent weeks in the trenches with the Austrian army. Then too the English nurses had a weakness for being photographed with the bullets whistling around their ears and not in artistic or womanly costume, but in the military khaki. Of course the danger to these women was in no way as great as that of the French, Galician and Belgian women who had remained home and who had permitted themselves to be buried under the ruins of their houses.

From French sources we know of one case where an English nurse spent considerable time at the firing line. An officer of the French general staff, who had had the pleasure to dine with her at the table of the Belgian ambassador, M. de Broquer, reported that this girl was the charming daughter of Lord F. She had spent five months on the front line as nurse. In all this period she had stayed quite close to the trenches in order to get to the sick at once and to nurse them. She was a very striking figure in her khaki, yellow

boots and military cap. And she was just as gracious as she was pretty and hence her value was recognized on the whole northern front where she took part in the battles of the Yser, and also near Dixmude. Her favorites were the marines. It was most delightful to hear her prattle argot with her English accent. "*J'aime beaucoup ces petits fusiliers: il savez très bien 'zigouiller' les Boches!*"

The following case deserves some consideration. When the Germans captured a detachment of Russians near the Naroc Sea they found among their prisoners a uniformed nurse of about nineteen attired in male costume. When she was asked why she was fighting at the side of the men instead of serving as a nurse, the young lady replied that in Russia the nurses had a very evil reputation and hence she preferred to put on a uniform. Another Russian nurse by the name of Iwanova is said to have participated in a certain bitter battle on the northwestern front, and when all of the officers had fallen she rallied the retreating soldiers at the decisive moment, gave them new courage and stormed an enemy trench. She died pierced through by a bullet and received posthumously the George cross. The French press extolled her as a heroine whereas the Germans branded her deed as a crime against the law of nations.

In other cases too we find women on the firing line and even in trenches, particularly on the Western Front. According to responsible reports, in 1915 the German soldiers on this front frequently heard dance music issuing from the French lines or from the little settlements behind the firing lines. Other circumstances make it appear that occasionally women came to the front. Thus actresses from Paris or other French cities spent some time in the vicinity of the front after it was realized that the war was to last longer than expected. These visits by actresses appear to have been quite frequent in the Austrian war theater. In the novel, *Soldaten Marien*, the author depicts vividly the erotic effects which the presence of a singer in the Russian trenches exercised upon the German soldiers on the other side. "All waited for the miracle which came late at night. The voice began to sing again—that strange woman's voice on the Russian side began to sing again. Slowly and gently she sang again and again. All the soldiers felt their hearts in their throats. Could so much sweetness reside in one woman's voice. . . . Barfelde was no longer leaning against the tree. He stood and pressed his hands together. How beautiful this woman ought to be! He saw her, her sorrowful eyes and sweet red mouth . . ."

Occasionally too visits of a family to the front took place. Thus an Austrian officer has informed us that in 1915 there came to his station directly behind the front line a strikingly pretty and elegantly clad lady who requested permission to visit her husband, an active Austrian lieutenant who was then on the firing line. When the lady, a typical wife of an Austrian officer, was asked why she had such a peculiar desire, she voluntarily informed the commander that a slight accident had befallen her at home. Her effervescent temperament had led her to commit an error which had not remained without its consequences; by meeting with her husband now she desired to legitimize that unpredictable sequel of her ardor. She received the necessary permission, thereby eradicating an impending tragedy.

During the war French newspapers printed the report of a French soldier serving in the field of battle concerning the visit to the front line of a French woman from Brittany. "One could scarcely imagine how much energy was locked up in such a little woman. She came from the farthest corner of Brittany in order to place into the arms of her husband a child who had been born after his departure. She had sworn that he would just have to see his child. The thought that he might die without seeing it had tortured her brain; and so one fine day she set out on her journey. She overcame all hindrances, slipped by all guards and finally got to the trenches. One evening we were washing our dishes and were preparing the straw for our beds when one of our comrades let out a yell, 'My Louise!' It was she. Without a word she put into his arms the little baby wrapped all in white. He scarcely dared to kiss it. And as for us, many of us have seen exciting spectacles during the war but nothing like this. Many wept. He, the father, was pale and speechless as though a gentle bullet had bored through his heart."

Finally on certain occasions women were forced into the dangers of war against their will and compelled to render some form of service that happened to be necessary. Thus in 1918 many manual workers were driven into the very trenches on the southwest Austrian front and suffered many casualties.

The question of female soldiers during the World War—of the voluntary participation in the war by women—we shall treat in a later chapter.

Chapter 4

SENSUALITY IN THE TRENCHES

Normal Sex Life Impossible in Trenches—German Physicians Extol Abstinence—"Steel Bath of the Nerves"—Origin of Sex Sublimation Theory—French Institution of "Marraines"—Sexual Abnormalities Due to War—Masturbation a Necessary Evil—Case Histories of Onanism—Profanity and Lewdness of Speech—Obscene Songs—Pornographic Photographs—Indecent Literature—Plaster Phalli Found in Trenches—Erotic Dreams—Excerpts from War Diaries—Tattooing and its Sexual Origin—Pleasure in Excremental Functions—Latrine Stories—Unnatural Sex Satisfaction—Anal Eroticism of Soldiers—Sodomy—Instances of Bestiality—Impotence Resulting from Enforced Continence—Ejaculatio Præcox—Serious Problem of Sex Hunger

THAT the war, at the beginning, could appear to many as a way to erotic liberation and unlimited expression of sensuality points to one of the numerous errors that springs from complete ignorance of modern warfare. Had people been able to realize what war actually signified, humanity would at least have been spared the illusion, and the disappointment which inevitably followed. Instead we find in this connection, as in almost every other, an almost terrifying ignorance with which human beings met the greatest catastrophe in their history. It was necessary for the war, with all its frightful reality, to show up, in tragic-comic fashion, the slight possibility of release for the erotic impulse as compared to the extremely farflung expectations on that subject.

For the majority of those who participated in the war and did not have the opportunity of spending the years of the world conflagration in the amorous paradises provided at various military war-stations, the same thing happened to the much touted business of erotic freedom as happened to the Italian futurists with their much eulogized *freedom of action* in whose name their prophet, Marinetti, had demanded the entrance of Italy into the war. It turned out that in this war there could be no question of freedom of action or freedom in any sense; that modern war was inhuman discipline completely devaluating and deflating all notions of human dignity, and that it signified nothing so much as the restraint of all free expression in all matters, including the sexual life. In the trenches the common soldier ceased to be a human being; but what is much worse, is that through the altered circumstances of life he was compelled to stop being a man. In the trenches there was no place for sexual life, at least not for a normal one. Here one

became an animal, only without the right of the animal to enjoy the free satisfaction of its instincts.

It is as significant as it is sad that in this case also science willingly placed itself in the service of war. German physicians especially were extremely concerned in singing hymns of praise to abstinence with an enthusiasm that was more than a little suspicious. In France, on the other hand, a systematic treatment of this question was avoided and in England the old tradition of publicly avoiding, as much as possible, all discussion of sexual problems was maintained. In German medicine there had even before been savants who had espoused the theory that sexual abstinence was not only innocuous but even salubrious. At the beginning of the war German public opinion frequently cited the belief of German physicians that abstinence would actually produce very beneficial results as continence would be tantamount to treasuring up the best powers of the body. Now this might have been true had the war lasted, as was expected at the beginning, for a few months or, at the most, a year. But when the duration of the war was protracted far beyond the original expectations, quite a different condition became apparent; and so we must reckon among the most evil and deplorable consequences of the war such as war prostitution and the spread of venereal diseases, also the enforced abstinence. No one will be surprised that literature gave considerable assistance to the *scientific* apostles of abstinence whose patriotism far exceeded their scientific truth. Everyone knows that, especially in the early period of the war, literature and journalism stood right under the banner of the ideology of the war in that it suffered itself to be entirely influenced by it and then returned this influence strengthened by its own professional contribution. Medical science espoused the cause of hygienic abstinence. Literature and the press assumed the view that from the war there would result a tremendous sublimation of the sexual impulse. This went so far that even such a reputable investigator of the erotic realm as Eulenburg, who died during the war, coined the frequently quoted expression of the *steel bath of the nerves*. Let us quote one example of the literary expression of this point of view. In an article called *War and Eroticism*, Hans Natonek gave expression to the following viewpoint which was characteristic of the sentiments espoused and propagated by the literature of that period.

“If one regards the eroticism of man as something to which the subject spirit is more relevant and important than the object

woman, then the war, with its completely non-erotic atmosphere, with its hard, sweet necessity of being womanless, seems to have been peculiarly created to restore the dreamy, mild, yearning hunger of true eroticism. Where formerly sex had been an ugly, soulless, rather brutish and almost mechanically sober indulgence, the situation as a result of enforced abstinence became quite different. For months there was no woman to be seen and this alone would have to make the most gross of men somewhat finer, and the most matter-of-fact ones a bit deeper. Formerly the enjoyer would have to do nothing more than to stretch out his hand for that which he desired, and so his pleasure and indulgence became for him something habitual, dull or almost superfluous. Life was lived in an erotic atmosphere and one had continually to talk in order to believe in it. Renunciation and the tension induced by want were unknown. Erotic culture in which people had come to believe that they were living, had, as a matter of fact, been destroyed through the continuous presence and possession of woman. But during the war many millions of men were torn out of their erotic *mechanization* and placed into a form of life in which woman became so distant and so wonderfully strange as to be reached only in the dream of yearning. In this way every erotic form of life is simplified, and becomes more honest and genuine. It almost appears as though the relationship of man and woman in all its fineness can only become obvious when woman is lacking."

In general the patriotic literature of the first few months of the war was greatly occupied, and that in the most repugnant fashion, in making good the sins committed before the war—namely of placing eroticism at the center of all poetry. If in pre-war days literature had seated Eros upon Pegasus, now everything was done not only to tear him down from his steed but even to have him stamped to death by the hoofs. Thus shortly after the outbreak of the war, the noted Viennese, Hans Müller, wrote a treatise which may be regarded as a masterful example of this hypocritical recession from the religion of sensual love. He has described the life of a soldier in the first person and says among other things the following:

"Now I lie upon a stone at night and fear to ask myself what tremendous physical and spiritual mystery has been engendered within me. . . . If Liane were now to bend over me, Liane the beautiful, for whom I once yearned with all the fibers of my being, if she were now to let her golden hair fall over me I would brush

it from my eyes in order not to miss the first light of dawn which will be the signal for our drive on Ostrowa Palcze."

To this effusion of patriotic misogyny the brave pacifist and Nobel prize winner, Dr. Albert H. Fried, replied that the author of that canting drivel was unfit for military service and had excogitated this yarn about regeneration of his being from a point no nearer the battlefield than his club chair.

This theory of sex-sublimation by war, a bastard-hybrid of psychoanalysis and patriotism, can perhaps be answered best in the words of Freud himself: "The task of the control of so mighty an impulse as the sexual one, which calls into action all the powers of the human being, the control by sublimation through the shunting of erotic impulses from the sexual drive to higher cultural goals, is possible only for a minority and even for them only temporarily." Furthermore, those who insist that war brings in its wake a movement of exalting influences have forgotten to answer the very important question, namely, just what higher cultural aims the war can purvey to those who participate in it.

The sublimation of the sexual impulse soon turned out to be nothing more than a dream and a very ugly one. The soldiers who, in rain and frost, surrounded by death, cowered in their trenches like living corpses, instead of idealizing woman spoke of her, according to the testimony of all participants of the war, in the most filthy and profane fashion. We may anticipate and say that this extreme nastiness of speech constituted a sort of substitute satisfaction—that when one could not actually have the love object to deal with, one could at least brutalize it with words.

The few possibilities which the war offered to maintain erotic connections between the front and the hinterland were, as might be expected, thoroughly exploited. For the soldier who could spend weeks in the dugouts a tiny gift from home, sent by some beloved hand, would have a very definite erotic value and significance. This fact was quite clearly recognized and all sorts of efforts were made to organize and maintain this erotic contact between the women who had remained at home and the men who were living under fire. Particularly at the outset, when the enthusiasm for war was at its highest, the women knitted socks and sweaters and sent gift packages to their loved ones at the front. Everyone who was alive at the time will remember the abuses of fashion which that time brought with it. Fried has written that in Vienna diamond-bedeked women would sit in cafés and knit socks, or ride in street

cars knitting sweaters. In every land the institution of sending gift packages to the front became the vogue. Since these gifts were frequently destined for unknown recipients they created an erotic contact between the front and the hinterland, a contact which was considerably strengthened by the widely disseminated love correspondence.

There was another institution that became fashionable during the war, practically in every state, but which reached its most comical developments in France where the institution of the *marraines* (god-mother or adoptive mother) was administratively organized. The Parisian woman who wished to participate in this social game, which was all too frequently an erotic one, turned to the military authorities who recommended to her some *filleul* (foster-son) worthy of her attention. The French were very proud of this pretty invention. Maurice Donnay, who wrote a book on the rôle of the French woman in the war, termed this institution of *marrainage* as one of the organizations in which one could recognize all the nuances of the French heart and spirit. It arose in the first months of the war, in the autumn of 1914 at the time of the battle of the Marne. In October of that year the enemy armies had penetrated very deeply, and preparations were made for the bad season of the year with its short days and long nights. Every French woman who had a son, husband or friend at the battlefield bought wool and knitted warm clothes which she sent him, along with numerous letters. Suddenly generous people remembered that there were soldiers without relatives, and so the French woman was called upon to act the part of mother to these unfortunate men. The women complied with the summons, and grandmothers, mothers and schoolgirls took on foster-sons. Donnay has prepared for us an authentic example of a letter in which this ceremony of adoption was discussed: "*Mon cher ami, on me dit, que vous êtes suel, que personne ne s'occupe de vous. Eh bien, sache qu'à partir de ce moment vous avez quelqu'une qui s'intéresse à vous. Pour commencer, je vous envoie un petit paquet . . .*"

It is quite obvious that as time went on this harmless tone could not be maintained in further relationships of the foster-mother and the adopted son, considering the erotic temperament of the French woman. Letters circulated between these newly acquired relations of a sort that cannot be quoted here. It is interesting to note that the French spirit did not hesitate to score the abuses of this institution, patriotism or no patriotism. At the beginning they con-

tented themselves with prophesying that there would be mass marriages between foster-mothers and their foster-sons, or with describing the astonishment of the Parisian woman when about to make the acquaintance of her foster-son released on a furlough. She discovers that he is a particularly black Congo or an Indo-Chinese; but afterwards they poured all the fires of their scorn on the institution which could fall a prey to so many abuses. Dr. Huot indicated how this institution gradually decayed. The institution of foster-mothers, which at the beginning was so entirely selfless, gradually acquired a sentimental streak, at least among young women and girls. The uneducated and neglected *poilu* in his capacity as foster-son began to slip from popularity and soon became relegated exclusively to old women and little children.

It is a curious fact, but a true one nevertheless, that letters from home frequently had erotic effects upon their recipients. The abnormality in the sexual conditions aggravated the general feeling of dissatisfaction almost to the point of madness and induced psychopathic mental states and depressions which were frequently erroneously attributed to fighting alone. (Löwenfeld's *Sexualleben und Nervenleiden* contains considerable material on this subject.) Thus a patient in the psychiatric ward of a hospital related that each time he would receive a letter from home he would have a pollution. Furthermore the same patient related that he would also have ejaculations when he was on a post awaiting an attack by the enemy, or whenever he would witness an altercation among his own comrades. The smallest excitement would induce a painful erection—against which he had long struggled in vain and from which he finally sought release by masturbation. He assured the authorities that before the war he had never manifested any sexual abnormalities.

That the evil of self-abuse (or self-satisfaction) was widespread in every army and not infrequently had unwholesome consequences is not to be established from statistics, but the judgments of all military surgeons lend great probability to our assertion. Let us quote from Dr. P. Lissmann who has devoted a monograph to the influences of the war upon the sex life of men. "During the war a great rôle was played from the sexo-neurological point of view, by masturbation (*ipsalind*). In peace times this practice is exceedingly common. It is assumed that ninety-six per cent of all young people in the second decade of their life masturbate. But during the war it became far more widespread, according to private and professional

records. The biologically imperative sexual impulse of the soldiers, whether in active service or reserve regiments, could not, in many cases, be eliminated or suppressed by religious or ethical scruples, or by fear of infection. On this point I have questioned hundreds of men of all nationalities, and in general, have received the answer that was expected under the circumstances—that there was current an enforced or substitute masturbation. Indeed not a few older men, who at home were accustomed to regular sex intercourse, confessed that they had chosen this way of escape from the torture of the senses, to avoid the scruples of conscience, and the dangers consequent upon illegitimate sexual intercourse. In these masturbators it was not at all a question of abnormal, psychopathic constitution. As far as the consequences of masturbation are concerned (which, while not without their evil effects, have, nevertheless, been greatly exaggerated) changes in character and temperament, melancholic depressions, etc.—I have not had enough exact experience of them in the field. The customary self-reproach and certain neurasthenic symptom complexes were observable in a few cases which had masturbated excessively. In general I shared Hirschfeld's impression that the elastic nerves of the healthy, strong man can easily overcome this single alteration of sex satisfaction.

“Moreover, the practice of masturbation was virtually impossible for my regiment while it was in position. Whoever has been in the field with front-line divisions knows the dense concentration of men in the wooded positions which never permits men, and especially young officers, to remain alone. The various military duties at the post, sentry duty, the public nature of the latrines, the common mess, make it next to impossible to be alone and hence extremely difficult to go through the motions of peripheral, mechanical masturbation. Of course it is impossible to guess what prohibitive or restraining influence the public life of the military camp would have on psychic masturbation which, in its nervous sequelæ, is much more grave. I want to adduce an illustrative case to render concrete this condition which Hirschfeld has termed sexual hyperesthesia. A certain strongly sexed man of thirty gave himself up to erotic imagination so long and intensively that ejaculation would result without any external stimulation of the genital organs. He suffered considerably from the customary masturbators' hypochondria which drove him to believe in the well-known *desiccation of the spinal marrow*. This, however, did not hinder him from surrendering again and again to his erotic fantasies.”

The great number of erotic stories that were circulated during the war, both among the troops at the field and also at home, give proof of the wide dissemination of the practice. For example, one of the best known epigrams of the war was the statement of an old Austrian Landsturm man, "Formerly my wife was my right hand, now my right hand in my wife." A former Hungarian officer has described to us the case of a Bosnian who served in his army and had to be given a furlough and sent home because he would, in keeping with his low mental state, masturbate before all his comrades. When this unusually strong man returned from his fortnight furlough, during which he had had normal intercourse with his wife, he had grown strong and healthy and regained all his former power.

A former French lieutenant has told us of a similar case. One day, as he was inspecting the dugouts, he came to a dimly lit corner where a tremendous crowd of *poilus* and a mysterious fluid caused him to stop at the threshold to see what was going on. Unseen he observed that they were standing around a young private (from the suburbs of Paris to judge by his accent) who was reciting something with the greatest *élan* and the most impressive vividness. The Parisian was describing his bridal night in the gayest colors, accompanying his story with appropriate movements of hand, body and head, and the most ludicrous tones, even to the imitation of a woman's voice. The excitement into which he had gotten himself was communicated to his comrades. "As far as I could make out in the darkness, they seemed to be drawn closer and closer to him and to hang onto his words. Finally, on tiptoe, I crept nearer. After my eyes had grown accustomed to the semi-darkness, I was able to see clearly the purpose and effect of the vivid recitation of this youth from Panama (argot for Paris). The delighted and ravished *poilus* were standing around with unbuttoned trousers. . . ."

It is certainly no exaggeration to see in the unhygienic effects of onanism practiced in the field, a direct consequence of the abstinence induced by the war, inasmuch as most of those war masturbators were people who, under normal circumstances, would not have fallen prey to self-pollution. In his *Winter lager einer geschlagenen Armee* Egon Erwornt Kisch has related the significant fact that, as soon as the army entered a place where normal sex intercourse was possible, those soldiers, who continued even now to indulge in the common substitute of self-satisfaction, were mocked and jeered at by their comrades who forthwith took advantage of

the opportunity for heterosexual intercourse. Very frequently the masturbation practiced by soldiers must have led to those twilight states in which various military crimes, like desertion, for example, were committed.

That under certain circumstances war itself induced masturbation is difficult to prove, but may, none the less, be assumed. We need only remember the erotic effects which certain war situations, as, for example, bombardment, exert upon the female psyche in order to conclude that, in like situations, similar reactions can be observed among men. It is an established historical fact that in the midst of the battle of Abensberg, Napoleon had a woman brought into his tent and had intercourse with her. In this connection we might mention the sadistic major concerning whom Bruno Vogel has reported as masturbating while observing a military encounter through field glasses. Even if this figure were a fictitious one, it is still true psychologically—just as true as the figure in de Sade's writing, a century earlier, who got an orgasm when Vesuvius erupted. Lissmann has reported the following case: "A thirty-year-old man, otherwise normal neurologically, used to get ejaculations, without erections or passion, during strong artillery fire. During continued firing he would get two or three ejaculations without showing any particular signs of lassitude or exhaustion. He had also come across another man of twenty-five who, during the bombardment of a town, had taken refuge in a cellar, and, while cowering there in terror, had repeated ejaculations without erection.

But it must not be supposed that masturbation was the only form of substitute satisfaction to which soldiers resorted in their sex hunger. Even during peace time the cursing and profanity of the soldiery is proverbial; and need we spend any time in pointing out the drastic way in which the sex impulse manifests itself in this coprolagnic activity? Hence, it is no wonder that in war, profanity, lewdness and nastiness of speech were more widespread than ever before, according to all observers. The speech of the garrison is, in general, a mixture of expressions which designate details of the digestive process or sexual intercourse. In his study of the ethical and moral effects of the war upon Germany, Baumgarten cites a letter sent him from the trenches by one of his former students: "Is there any possibility that in the slime of the trenches there is an increase in the power of the soul to keep itself pure? Few young people have so strong an inner life that they can retain the purity of their souls by their own power. It is almost a year now that we

have been without the companionship of modest, noble women or girls, a factor which does much to equilibriate passion and ennoble the soul. To be sure, we have the will to remain pure and modest, even as we have the will to be victorious. But, just as without proper leadership, we are doomed to failure no matter how brave and courageous we may be, so also in the matter of morality we are doomed to defeat, despite all the exertion of our will-power if we lack spiritual and ethical guidance. I myself have had the experience, despite all my efforts to the contrary, of again and again wallowing in filth, until one comes to regard it as a necessary consequence of the war to spice one's speech with the proper flavor of bawdiness and foulness."

A not inconsiderable part of soldiers' jokes and songs refer to sexual life. For this there are numberless examples, of which we quote the following which saw print in the novel *Infanterist Perhobstler*:

*Es steht ein Elefant am Titicaca See
 Der steht und hebt sein Schwänzlein in die Höh.
 Laura, Laura, wenn ich bei dir steh!
 So geht mir's wie dem Elefant am Titicaca See.*

It is true, of course, that a large portion of these songs arose long before the war but most of the poems and songs composed during the war were of this sort; which is a fact not without interest psychologically as showing how modern technical warfare demands a great deal of the body but offers little of value to the moral spirit of man. How else explain the amazing fulfillment during the World War of the ancient adage that during war the Muses are silent? However, the war did influence the creation of pacifist songs and verses on the miseries of a soldier's life as, for example, the song so popular among the American soldiers: *Mademoiselle of Armentières*. The heroine of this song, by the way, was a real character, a pretty midinette who worked in a laundry during the day and spent her evenings entertaining American soldiers at the *Black Cat Café*. But more commonly old songs, opera hits or popular ballads were sung with certain textual changes, practically always of an erotic sort. The novel *Perhobstler*, referred to above, contains examples of this type of erotic textual emendations which cannot be quoted here.

Another form of substitute satisfaction, besides lewd chatter and songs, was the pornographic products with which the soldiers were

provided. Early in 1915 the Hungarian papers expressed their intense dissatisfaction at the thriving export trade in pornographic (especially masochistic) photographs. Accordingly to the testimony of various participants in the war, these pictures were very widespread and contributed much to help the inhabitants of the dug-outs in their enforced continence. For the most part these pictures were of the sort well known to us even in peace times—the most shameless pornographic photographs which are still vended in the streets of Paris and advertised in many newspapers and journals all over the world.

Furthermore, the soldiers were kept supplied with erotic reading matter. We may refer here to a French advertisement captioned, *Pour nos soldats*, under which were advertised the most depraved kind of pornographic literature including a work of the well-known sadistic author who bears the significant nom de plume, *Aimé Van Rod*. And when the shipment from home stopped, there were other measures adopted in various places. The German press frequently printed accounts of women's hats, dresses and underthings being found in abandoned French trenches, which were later occupied by German troops. In addition to these mementoes of visits that women had paid to those places were found photographs of coitus scenes and phalli of plaster. At a meeting devoted to military medicine, held at Tübingen in 1914, a physician, Dr. Gaupp, exhibited a large phallus, 19.5 c. long and 5.5 cm. in diameter, found in the knapsack of a French officer. There were all sorts of notions concerning the possible uses of the instrument. Dr. Gaupp asserted that such instruments had repeatedly been found in the bags of fallen French soldiers and this had aroused the suspicion in German military circles that they were instruments for inflicting brutal injuries on German women and girls. The questioning of French wounded elicited no explanation other than that these mysterious objects were *seulement pour rire*. Gaupp, however, believed that this was improbable, for no object so heavy and large would be forced into a knapsack only for fun. Nor was there much to be said for the hypothesis that it was used for pederastic purposes. It seemed much more likely that the object was really a talisman, only the size and weight of the object were against this explanation. Perhaps there was a sort of exhibitionism here in which a sexually perverse person would become excited at the sight of the shame and insult that women would feel when confronted with the giant phallus. It was Iwan Bloch's hunch that the purpose of the instru-

ment could be found in a sort of fetishistic substitute reaction. In the professional circles of Germany, this question aroused considerable interest. It may be likely that this was merely an individual find which, in normal times, free from war psychosis, would not have aroused any great interest or led to such intricate and fine-spun conclusions concerning French eroticism. In this connection, it is well to remember that at the same meeting at which the phallus question came up, Iwan Bloch read an obscene parody of the French training regulations which had also been found on the person of a French soldier. Bloch opined that no such productions could or would be found among the German soldiers. However, this optimistic guess was utterly contradicted by the late happenings of the war. There was scarcely one trench dugout in which, during periods of inactivity and comparative rest, the devastating tedium of a comatose and stupefying vegetativeness was not relieved by erotic titillation. This biological thrill was purveyed to German and other soldiers frequently by erotic and even obscene reading matter. A special favorite was the erotic parody of military orders. There is extant a copy of an album, distributed at the front in innumerable copies, bearing the title *Schweineriade* and containing "the instructions of a corps of Amazons to be organized in 1915." There is also extant a pamphlet of similar content entitled: *Official Orders Concerning the Organization, Practice, Military Leadership, etc., of Mobile Field- and Reserve-Houses of Joy.*

Naturally the official literature was also interested in satisfying the demand for erotic reading matter which could be used to while away many a dismal, ugly hour in the trenches. One war participant, Clemens Gert, has written an interesting essay on the subject of erotic literature in the dugouts, its spread, use, quality, etc. Among other things he says that natural unforced eroticism will seldom lead to hyper-irritation or excessive excitation of the senses. It was quite different, however, with regard to the erotic production of a writer like Marie Madeleine, whose characters always manifested some perverse trait or other. It was this type of reading which wrought great havoc upon inexperienced and youthful minds. The effect of the daily conversations of the men continually preoccupied with erotic subjects was not nearly so corrupting. Of course, they did arouse the desire for woman but the desire thus aroused proceeded in a natural way to its goal, that is, it aimed directly at the pleasure of love. But the situation was quite different with the characters which Madeleine created. These were

nearly always hysterical in one way or another and dominated by a perverse instinctual life. Hence, not infrequently, these erotic productions poisoned young minds even before they had come to their first actual sex experience. It will be no exaggeration to designate Madeleine's activity as being downright poisonous for it aroused young and hot-blooded people to a pitch of abnormal excitement and virtually created unnatural desires.

No special emphasis is necessary, of course, in regard to the fact that the fantasy of these hungry men, erotically inflamed by this type of reading, some of whom had never yet experienced a love pleasure, should result in various erotic dreams. This will appear perfectly comprehensible even to the reader who knows next to nothing of psychoanalysis. Innumerable war diaries, drawings and productions of war literature tell us that the dreams of the combatants were drenched with lust. There can be absolutely no question of anything like sublimation of the sex impulse or idealization of the women. In these erotic dreams, which we have just noted, in which the inner man comes to expression, there is as little of the ideal or refined elements of the higher stages of love as in the conversations carried on in the trenches, or in the soldiers' songs and jokes which revolved entirely upon the theme of sex. In dreams, as in the waking state, the oppressive sex starvation of the soldiers showed itself in all the multifarious expressions that are so well known. We shall confine ourselves to quoting just one illustration from the war novel by Johanssen:

"A sleeping soldier whispers in his dream the name of some woman. A student lying nearby shuts his eyes and soon is asleep. The lousy, filthy blanket turns into a girl's dress and the curve of the steel helmet on which his hand rests is transformed into a small girl's breast. A sweet warmth runs through his veins. He dreams of his sweetheart and, after her picture becomes somewhat pale, he dreams of women in general."

The sexual hunger at the front and in the encampments of the prisoners-of-war was everywhere strongly apparent. Many a man thus got his first notion of the sex hunger that rages in prisons. . . .

Nor were there lacking on the front other well-known consequences of sexual abstinence. Thus many soldiers had themselves tattooed when there was an opportunity. There are many places in literature, especially in the works of Italian psychiatrists, where the erotic origin of this phenomenon is explained. We know that it is to be attributed to sex hunger; most tattoos applied during the

World War had an outspoken erotic character. This phenomenon was met with most frequently in sailors who naturally had more opportunity for carrying out this practice than soldiers in the trenches. In Freud's terminology, we are dealing with men who have been away from women for a long time and without the opportunity for sexual satisfaction, and who therefore, have turned back their libido fixation upon themselves. During the World War the sailors generally had themselves tattooed in the very first weeks of service, a fact which has been frequently observed among prisoners. It is, of course, impossible to say what percentage, but among the English sailors it is estimated that twenty per cent of the men in service were tattooed, an estimate which also applies to the German navy because here the national differences are submerged by the fact that the manner of life is exactly the same. Furthermore, our estimate of the number of soldiers who had their bodies stamped with these erotic designs is rendered more difficult as many soldiers who participated in the war had had themselves tattooed previously or had behind them a prison record of longer or shorter duration. It will be remembered that, according to fairly reliable statistics, between fifty and sixty per cent of prisoners have themselves tattooed. In the war diary of the Italian psychiatrist, Bianchini, we read the following incident:

"The chaplain had brought to the physician two soldiers who had been very gravely wounded. One was an Austrian and bore upon his breast, which had been torn by a bomb, and upon his arms and back a number of tattoos which represented sexual symbols. Bianchini was very much interested in ascertaining where this soldier had gotten tattooed for every nation has been accusing every other nation of releasing their desperate criminals, including murderers, from prison and using them for military service. Bianchini, therefore, was interested to know whether this gravely wounded man had also been a prisoner. He asked him where he had gotten the tattoo but the poor fellow didn't answer. The physician cleaned his wounds, bandaged him, alleviated the physical pains of the dying man and then consoled him in his mother tongue. Now for the first time the man's tongue loosened and he asked the physician if he were going to die. 'I will tell you the truth,' Bianchini said, 'provided you will inform me where you got those tattoos. Was it in prison?' The dying man closed his eyes in shame and mumbled a scarcely audible 'Yes.'"

One of the most frequent consequences of sexual starvation dur-

ing the war is the retreat to infantile forms of satisfying the libido. We have already shown that among these masturbation occupied the first place but, in general, we might say that the life in the trenches was calculated in itself to favor the recrudescence of infantilism. Stekel has given the following explanation of this phenomena which, be it remembered, also serves to explain why so many soldiers who returned from the war have become unfit for work and find no pleasure at all in it.

"I have frequently emphasized that all infantilists are lazy. They revolt at work because it disturbs their fantasy life and dreams. The retreat from work and the avoidance of it is a dangerous social phenomenon. Owing to the war it has become a psychic epidemic which has infected whole nations. The reasons are quite obvious. In the trenches and in the playfulness of the war stations during periods of idleness and enforced inactivity, there were numerous, totally empty hours in which the soldier was driven back to his infantile fantasies in order to kill time and to escape from the painful present into a pleasurable dream world. The war drove numerous men and women into the comforting arms of infantilism. Numerous marriages were destroyed by it and innumerable men lost all joy in work and in reality. It will take decades until these noxious consequences will be remedied."

Among the phenomena under the general rubric of erotic manifestations in the trenches, we desire to mention anal eroticism among soldiers. As is well known, the purely animal and physical needs stood at the center of the soldiers' interest for, placed in the primitive conditions at the front, they lost practically all the achievements of civilization and were sexually unsatisfied.

In the war novel by Remarque we can see how much of the soldiers' attention was directed to defecation—its technique and pleasures. The new recruits used the large mass latrine but those who had been in the service for a while had little boxes of their own. These boxes were equipped with comfortable seats, and handles whereby they could be transposed. Remarque describes for us how soldiers sat down on their seats for a good long session, with no intention whatever of getting up before two hours had elapsed. When they first came to the garrison as rookies they suffered considerable embarrassment at having to use the communal latrine. There was no door and twenty men sat in line next to each other as in a train, for the soldier had continually to be under supervision. But very soon they overcame this modesty. After a

while everything became indifferent to them. At the front this bodily function actually became a pleasure and men were unable to understand why they had formerly been squeamish about a matter which was as natural as eating and drinking.

To the soldier his stomach and digestion are much more familiar things than they are to other people. Three-quarters of his vocabulary is derived from this realm and the expressions of his highest joy as well as of his deepest sorrow derive their picturesque imagery from this. It is impossible to express oneself as succinctly and clearly in any other way. The families and teachers of the soldiers may be surprised at this when the latter return home, but at the front it is the universal language. For soldiers these processes once again achieved the character of complete innocence or naturalness as a result of the compulsory publicness. They became so obvious that their pleasurable performance was regarded with great satisfaction. It is significant that the word that came to be applied to gossip of all kinds is *latrine parole* for the privies were the places for conversation for the soldiers much as a restaurant table is to others.

It is impossible to overlook the libidinous coloring in Remarque's depiction of these matters. But the connection between defecation and sex is represented much more clearly in the war novel, *Schipper at the Front*. In this book of Beradt's we see how every soldier was as happy as a schoolboy when the body demanded its needs. Although it was only a large bird cage in which the happily busy one could hang for a little while, this little stay between heaven and earth was so pleasant for the idler that he gladly seized this opportunity to recuperate from his labors, no matter what the weather—rain, snow or storm. Soon the shyness that had been present in the beginning disappeared completely and one did not scruple at all to undress before strangers. In this place of leisurely activity arose those stories which were best designated as *latrine stories*, a term befitting them as well because of their nature as of their place of origin. It was remarkable how childish the reactions of the men were in respect to the satisfaction of this excremental function. The latter was not regarded as anything repulsive, or as something to be merely tolerated, but as an object for jest. The German soldiers were not nearly as much concerned with their front sides as with their rear. As people with a comparatively moderate sensuality they were much more concerned with the discussion of the influence of eating and drinking than of erotic pleas-

ures, a manner of reaction entirely different from that common to other nations where, contrariwise, it was the pleasures of sex that occupied the first rank. Withal, this delight of the Germans in the movements of their bowels was difficult to reconcile with the cleanliness they are noted for. And with regard to external cleanliness, they did live up to their reputation; but while they maintained their external standards they filled their mouths with filth. This contradiction is to be explained by the fact that the outer man has not become accustomed to the progress of the inner man and retains his old pleasure in acts or processes which the external form of life has already transcended. Knowledge and habit simply had not kept pace. Some people have attributed this delight in coprology to another circumstance. It can be regarded as a self-limitation—a sort of regression to escape a greater danger—the consequences of traffic with women who were very difficult of access here; and since there had to be something to occupy the imagination of the men during the fearsome weeks, the vegetative domain of life was exploited. However, Beradt disagrees with this hypothesis inasmuch as he had found that the joy in the excremental pleasures exceeded that taken in the erotic domain. There were soldiers who loved the one and didn't hate the other. Once he had to dine with four other officers and was fairly submerged under a volley of the nastiest sort of excremental jokes combined with a steady stream of bawdy ones. It was virtually impossible for a person of any sensitivity at all to swallow a mouthful under such conditions. He pounded on the table madly and called for a bit of decency but this only served to increase the current of filth, and he was finally forced to leave the table and finish his supper alone. However, in the ensuing days at lunch, at least, a certain amount of consideration was extended to those whose stomachs were somewhat squeamish. But now Beradt was annoyed by another pest. It happened that at night he had to sleep near a worker for whom every movement and word contained a hint or suggestion that was scatologic or pornographic. Men are quickly infected by this type as education and self-control are only a thin veil concealing but lightly the primitive impulse; and so this soldier's comrades, not to be outdone, went beyond him in foulness. To sustain his reputation he made additional and incessant efforts to cover everything with stool. Life was unbearable and Beradt saw himself compelled to thrash the chap and only after the flogging was there a return to a somewhat higher level of decency.

Now Beradt's account is correct and quite in line with *Tiefenpsychologie* (the name suggested by Bleuler for psychoanalysis). He points here to the double root of anal eroticism among soldiers. On the one hand it is a regression to infantile anal acts and activities to the child's libidinous play with excrement, and on the other side it is a substitute for sexual intercourse. For this reason anal eroticism must not be omitted in any discussion of the sexual hunger of soldiers even if its importance seems to have been overlooked by the *Fachwissenschaft*. Another thing that we may regard as a substitute activity is the social game played with flatulence so popular among soldiers and officers as well.

It has been reported that on and off pseudo-homosexual intercourse, or homoerotic love between men who heretofore had been of normal sexuality, also played a rôle as a substitute form of sex satisfaction. We shall return to this matter in the chapter on homosexuality during the war. In the case of another perversion—sodomy or bestiality, the connection with sex hunger created by war conditions is much clearer. This sort of sexual activity is even in normal times to be attributed to insufficient opportunity for the exercise of coitus, since a pathological sexual impulse which is directed only towards animals is rather rare (Forel). Of course in some few cases we must assume another factor in order to understand this type of aberration—satiety with the normal response and a desire for novelty and change. In regard to sodomy, we have the testimony of one of the leading military physicians of the Austro-Hungarian army that on the Italian front at least (he was stationed near Doberdo) such cases could be observed very frequently. The usual offenders in this respect were Hungarian hussars who used for sexual purposes the mares entrusted to their care. Even officers occasionally indulged this perversion and that is why men who were caught at this act were never brought before a military court but were flogged right then and there. The authority referred to above, estimates that on a conservative judgment at least ten per cent of the men in his division participated in such perverted sex activities. Such an enormous spread of sodomy and all experiences that have been gathered on this subject (Forel has observed this condition only among idiots and morons who, despised and mocked by every girl, retire to the quiet of the stable to seek and find consolation with a cow) put it beyond question that we are dealing here with one of the sequelæ of abstention from normal sex activity enforced by the conditions of war.

Of course in all previous wars and indeed in peace times there is clearly discernible a certain comradeship between the soldier and his steed. A good expression of the affection felt by a cavalryman for his horse is to be read in Edward Kachmann's novel called *Four Years—Front Reports of a Cavalryman*. In many cases, therefore, it is difficult to say whether the more intimate relationship with the animal that we are here discussing is to be regarded as zoophily, or animal fetishism, or as the adoption of certain reactions as substitutes for normal sex intercourse. This is true of the case reported by Magnus Hirschfeld, one of the few instances of sodomy observed and reported during the war. During the war he had to give an opinion on a Bavarian corporal who had cohabited with a sow. This man's colleague had observed on numerous occasions he had slipped into the swine pens and locked himself in. The soldiers, suspicious of their comrade, bored little holes through the door and, when they next saw him slink into the barn, they watched him through the little openings and saw, to their amazement, that the corporal had complete coitus with the sow. On the information supplied by them he was arrested. It is most interesting to note what his defense was: the light colored skin of the swine had always reminded him of his fair-skinned wife whom he loved dearly (she had presented him with seven splendid children) but from whom he had been separated for two years; it was in order to remain faithful to her that he had expended his lust upon the sow. Despite his honest defense, which proceeded from a considerable degree of mental weakness, his admirable war record and numerous distinctions, the man was sentenced to a rather severe punishment. The naïve fashion in which the accused defended his dereliction is frequently found in such cases, and is typical of the low mentality of the malefactors.

There was much discussion among physicians about the possible or probable consequences of enforced continence. This was especially true in Germany where in 1915 the "Society for the Combating of Venereal Diseases" sent a questionnaire on this subject to all physicians serving in the field. There were some twenty-seven questions referring to the results of abstinence, the frequency of pollutions and masturbation, neurasthenic phenomena, homosexual activities, etc. The opinion was generally current that for such an investigation the war offered a magnificent opportunity inasmuch as hundreds of thousands of men had to live away from their wives; yet quite a number of the medical men disapproved of this question-

naire very strongly. Thus Dr. Schäffer wrote that it was dangerous to the common cause and insulting, especially in its influence upon the wives who had remained at home. In addition he thought that a number of the questions were out and out suggestive. In the course of the conversations, Felix Theilhaber expressed the opinion that the whole discussion seemed to be a waste of time for the facts had been well known even before—that men at the front do not find it hard to overcome sexual abstinence just as sportsmen can easily bear the lack of sex intercourse. The real fighters, especially in the East, he thought, who were going through such a strong physical strain were definitely in a position to overcome any evil effect resulting from their enforced continence, seeing that they were diverted from this by strong psychic effects, that their living conditions were extremely simple and, especially, that there was completely lacking any object that could tempt them; the old desires would immediately return, of course, when these men left the firing line.

This opinion was true but only in the light of the knowledge available at that time—which, as we have indicated, was very scanty. All the evil effects of sex hunger first became manifest when the soldiers had been at their positions for a long time, where the danger to life, although still considerable, was none the less much decreased, and to the soldier whom habit had dulled must have appeared almost negligible. To be sure, when the battle was raging for a long time and life was in imminent danger, the worry about the mere preservation of life was so great as to annihilate all other impulses. In these cases the lack of sexual intercourse had consequences which were quite different but none the less noxious. We are referring here to the extinction of sexuality—a condition which was observed in all armies and complained of by many soldiers. This extinction of sexuality constituted a lasting impairment of health. The medical protagonists of the theory that abstinence was innocuous and who, at the beginning pointed to the consequences with triumph, soon had to reveal the facts.

This fact cannot be denied. All that is possible is a difference of interpretation; and if we regard the impotence which resulted from continence as an undesirable and sad consequence, one can certainly not render a verdict in favor of abstinence. Early in 1916, H. Fehlinger stated clearly that as far as his experiences went with men who were engaged in military service, their sexuality had been completely swamped. Among the men who were facing the enemy's

fire directly, sexuality was almost completely obliterated. Fehlinger even asserted that not even in conversation did sex appear to be a factor. Young and old reacted alike in this regard. Only one expression could be heard more or less frequently—that the men themselves noticed and complained about the lack of sex needs.

We have every reason to assume that the abstinence enforced by the war resulted in all forms of sexual neurosis. This is particularly true of the most important of these neuroses, *ejaculatio præcox*. The war, with all the hardships and dislocations it imposed upon sex life, seems to have increased tremendously the number of these cases. Magnus Hirschfeld has reported that scarcely a week passed in which female patients did not come to the "Institut für Sexualwissenschaft" (an institution with which he was intimately connected) with the complaint that their husbands, who had formerly been healthy, had returned from the war suffering from this complaint.

Even Vorberg, who otherwise was a protagonist of abstinence, reported that in the front line trenches, where death reaped an hourly harvest, sexual desire became extinguished, as no one thought of woman as something to satisfy sex lust. There's no denying that for men not in the firing line who were able to get under the influence of alcohol and were exposed to the allurements of venal women, the old Adam would rise again.

Lissmann has stated, in the brochure we have already referred to, that the impotence caused by abstinence during the war lasted for a considerable period after the war. To quote his own words: "Even in the field not a few officers and soldiers with thoroughly normal nervous systems told me that at the beginning of their furloughs their erections were either completely absent or extremely imperfect. It is true that in the second week of the furlough these abnormal phenomena receded considerably in most cases; but even now I frequently have occasion to see among the soldiers all phases of impotence, from weakness of erections to that of complete absence of tumescence. Not infrequently there is also to be noticed a great uncertainty with regard to potency. By chance, these observations that I had made in that field received confirmation by the police physician resident in a little town behind our lines. I requested him to make inquiries of the prostitutes plying their trade in that town, concerning the potency of their clients. The replies showed that the men who had just come in from the front lacked the customary sexual power and very frequently showed in-

complete or imperfect erections. During the war it was possible to attribute this functional weakness as psychic impotence due to the time limit set for coitus during the furlough or to the dishabituation of the senses from chemical eroticization. But now, after the war, when the sexes are already reunited, the causal relation is lacking. F. Pick has also established the perdurance of high grade disturbances of the sexual function among former soldiers. In more than half of the cases observed by him, libido, erection and ejaculation were completely lacking."

On the other side of the picture there is to be noted an opposite, but equally morbid consequence: the most erotomaniacal increase of the sexual impulse as soon as there was any opportunity to gratify it. A large number of the venereal diseases gotten in the field-brothels were due to this oppressive and totally irrational sex hunger.

Especially during the first or mobile part of the war, abstinence was more frequently accompanied by this consequence than the later or stationary portion by the de-eroticizing influence. On this question Major Franz Carl Endres has said the following:

"Fresh and merry warfare is nothing but propaganda. Yes, it is possible to be merry during the war—in the pauses between battles—even merrier than one normally is. This results from the fact that the nerves are taut and man's natural desire for life cries out for fulfillment. One wishes to be merry at least once more, for tomorrow, likely as not, one will be dead. That is why the eroticism of the undisciplined soldiers is so atrociously wild. In war times the great fatigue caused by the maneuvers is not enough to lull to sleep the erotic desires of the men but seems rather to excite them. When there is added the feeling of having escaped from a great danger (or being about to be exposed to one) there are operative not only the physical disposition, but also an increased sexual drive, and psychic moments of excitation which in men, who have anything of the perverse in their constitution, leads to erotomania and perversion of the sex impulse."

The war ideology believed that it was possible to dispose of this whole complex question with cheap jokes concerning the immeasurably increased sexual potency of the soldier (generalized quite without foundation) home on furlough. But little good came of that. Sex hunger was and remained throughout the war a serious and even tragic problem, insoluble like all the others which war visited upon man.

Chapter 5

VENEREAL DISEASES

Devastating Effects of Venereal Diseases—Impediment to Successful Warfare—Pre-War Statistics—German Society for Prevention of Venereal Diseases—Mobile vs. Stationary Army—Preventive Measures of Each Nation—Surprise Examinations—New Prophylactic Methods Devised During War—"Tail Parades"—Officers Exempt from Examination—Sanitary Control—Punishment for Concealment of Disease—Syphilitic Soldiers Returned to Trenches by Patriotic Physicians—The Etape, the Real Breeding Ground—Dissolution of Brothels by Military Police—Demand for Women Greater than Supply—Disease Spreads to Rural Population—Problems of Occasional Prostitution—Physical Examinations Before Furloughs—Exchange of Germs Between Hinterland and Front—Venereal Diseases in Literature—Disease Rampant Throughout Post-War World

EVERY one of the warring nations was clearly aware of the dangers of venereal diseases to the strength and fighting power of their troops. The statistics of past wars had established beyond any doubt the devastating effect of this plague. Yet of all the warring nations Germany was the only one to undertake anything resembling a systematic solution of the problem and to apply what had been learnt from the experiences of past wars, especially the Franco-German War (1870-1871). Naturally such action was undertaken primarily in the interests of successful warfare and only incidentally because of humanitarian considerations of public health, etc.

England, whose army and navy had always shown a record number of venereal diseases, a fact strangely overlooked or neglected by its puritanical morality, just saw a further spread of venereal diseases; and the French standpoint was, from the outset, rather anarchistic. Here too, syphilis increased in a degree never seen before, as we shall discover when we compare the figures for the different countries. With regard to the dissemination of venereal diseases in the Austrian army, we might say that Victor Adler's opinion was justified when he asserted that Austria's form of government was an absolutism mitigated by slovenliness. Only in the German army was there any organized fight against venereal diseases. Let us glance for a moment at some figures compiled by Dr. Blaschko relative to the distribution of these diseases in various armies before the war. The figures date from 1895 but until the outbreak of the World War they remained true relative to each other (although the absolute numbers declined).

<i>Land</i>	<i>Percentage of sufferers from venereal diseases per 1000 population</i>
Germany	25.5
France	41.9
Austria	61.0
Italy	84.9
England	173.8

In a report of the German *Society for the Prevention of Venereal Diseases*, Dr. Wolff has written that from 1881 to 1900 there was a continuous decline of venereal diseases in the German army as well as in the armies of other European states, especially England. Only Austria, Italy and Spain showed no decline; and Russia after the middle nineties even showed a moderate increase.

History teaches that the dangers of infections are very much less when the army is in motion than when the troops entrench into a long-term position. In the war of 1870 a certain South German army corps, investigated by Professor Neisser, had 3.3 per cent of venereal diseases. In October of that year the number had risen to 10.2 per cent; and, in 1871, when the troops had been encamped in French quarters for some five months the number had climbed to 77.7 per cent. In the Greco-Turkish war the total casualties mounted to 4000 men; but during the peace negotiations which stretched over months, the Turk army, which had not yet been demobilized, lost 50,000 men from infectious diseases.

When, after the first great battles of 1914, the war changed more or less into a *war of occupation*, there was ample reason to fear a repetition of this rapid spread of venereal infection in large portions of the German army. Some notion of the dangers facing the German hosts, who were occupying French territory, may be gleaned from the fact that in 1870 French journals (*Charivari* for example) had plainly called on all the French whores to perform what it considered a task of the highest patriotism—to infect with venereal disease whole masses of the German invaders. It was constantly feared that this method would again be used and it was ever being fed by rumors from the occupied territories of France or Belgium. A. R. Meyer who, in his famous *Five Mysteries*, used the bomb attack on the hospital in Lousberg, has Belgian whores released from custody say, "Let us fall upon the German soldiers.

We are monsters. Let us bear the brand through every street and beat the enemy from our fatherland!"

The precautionary measures taken by the German military leaders against the spread of venereal diseases during the war have been summarized by Vorberg as follows:

1. Instruction of the men concerning the dangers of extramarital intercourse.
2. Warning against the use of spirituous drinks as artificial excitants of sex desire.
3. Frequent, surprise examinations.
4. Punishment of concealed disease.
5. Examination of all women resident in occupied areas who are suspected of prostitution.
6. Immediate determination of the source of infection for the safeguarding of the healthy.
7. No furlough without medical examination.
8. Personal precautionary measures.
 - a. Personal cleanliness to prevent inflammation of the prepuce and penis which facilitates the reception of syphilitic toxin.
 - b. Lubrication of the member before coitus (condoms were sometimes advised).
 - c. After coitus micturition and disinfection with pipette of two or three drops of 20 per cent protargol for the prevention of gonorrhoea. Rubbing the gland and prepuce with cotton dipped in bichloride 1:1000.
9. Medical treatment of venereal diseases.

In every army save the English, the men received instruction in these matters. In Germany the *Society for the Prevention of Venereal Diseases* came to the aid of the military authorities in this world for enlightenment and distributed to all the soldiers who left for the battlefield innumerable copies of the following circular: "Every soldier is under the sacred obligation of keeping himself well for the sake of his fatherland, especially in war times when the greatest demands are made upon his capacities. The health of soldiers is undermined most by venereal diseases—syphilis and gonorrhoea. These ailments not only cause great pain, but make the man weak and ailing, unable to fight or march, not to speak of all the grave results which may follow, for often the whole lifetime. These diseases are gotten from frivolous girls and women who are nearly all sick as a result of their loose living and who then transmit these

diseases to the men with whom they have intercourse. Especially during war time the soldiers must keep away from these girls at home as well as in the land of the enemy. He should be particularly careful not to drink spirituous liquors (whiskey, beer, wine) lest, in his intoxication, he be seduced by these women. In addition to keeping the rest of his body clean he must also keep his sex organs very clean."

Professor Flesch made similar demands at a meeting of military physicians at Lille. He counselled, among other things, instruction of the men through repeated distribution of proper circulars, frequent examinations without previous warning, the greatest possible limitation of alcohol and its supplanting by gratuitous distribution of tea and coffee, avoidance of single quarters in the cities with a tendency to garrisoning the men instead, punishment of every one found to have a venereal disease, and impunity for those men who have reported for disinfectant treatment no more than six hours after the coitus.

The best effects were exercised by those circulars which drew the greatest attention of the soldiers by their humorous form. One exceedingly droll poster of this sort is extant, bearing the signature of the staff physician, but it does not bear quoting.

There is considerable difference of opinion concerning the prophylactic effect of these measures. Thus Dr. Veress was of the opinion that the prophylactic measures devised during peace times, and to some extent in war times (in the hinterland), were, to a large extent, impracticable for a great army of millions standing in the field.

Certain new prophylactic methods were devised during the war. Thus the Austrian army was provided with a prophylactic kit consisting of an antiseptic soap, a silver preparation and a little styptic pencil for the urethra. It was reported that, thanks to this invention, the number of venereal patients in one army division of 37,000 men, fell 38 per cent between January and May, 1916.

During the same year the Vienna medical journals reported that informative tables were issued to the hygienists who gave instruction in prophylaxis. What such an examination entailed can be gathered from a communication sent us by a Hungarian soldier of which only a portion is fit to be quoted: "After the lieutenant had barked out a number of military orders in quick tempo he approached the difficult task which obviously he didn't relish very much. He said: 'You're really not supposed to . . . at all, but if you

are such swine and must . . . then at least do it with your mothers so that the gonorrhoea will remain at home in the family.'” (It should be remarked that incest with one’s mother is a very widespread Hungarian idiom, a sort of regular forceful expression of the Hungarian popular tongue.)

Not a whit more popular than this “instruction” was what, in the language of the garrison, bore the name “tail parade.” In every army examinations to detect the presence of venereal diseases were carried out two or three times weekly, in spite of the fact that V. Töply, one of the chief physicians, had stated that periodic mass examinations were “thoroughly irrelevant” during the war. We shall not undertake to decide whether these measures were justifiable or groundless. But it cannot be denied that this “tail parade” was among the vilest expressions of the military spirit, and one constituting the deepest insult to the finer soul-spirit; and the forms under which it took place made it appear even more an institution with noxious and brutalizing effects.

In Wilhelm Michael’s novel *Infanterist Perhobspler* we read the following:

(“After drill came the tail-parade.)

“I haven’t even a bit of juice for myself—so how can there be anything left for a whore,’ etc.

“The physician became foul when somebody didn’t have his thing quite ready as he passed by. He growled out, ‘Prepuce back, quick!’

“I was oppressed by the whole procedure for I would have reported to the doctor if anything had gone wrong. At that inspection, as at every other I had ever seen, not one sick man was found. To be sure, there were many sick men but they had all reported in time. In our own company during the whole time I was there, only one man had gotten diseased, but he had reported the matter of his own accord directly he had noticed it!”

Still no one can deny that these practices had some educational value. Let us quote here verbatim from the diary of one young soldier:

“October, 1915—Health inspection. Among some soldiers the sanitary corporal found what they called smegma under the prepuce. Whereupon he called out angrily, ‘You old sows, can’t you remove the cheese?’ I noticed that I was the same way but I was able to wipe the stuff away with my shirt before I was reached. But it hurt. I had never had sexual intercourse and no one had ever

told me that physical cleanliness would have to extend even under the foreskin that had remained untouched until now—which is very likely the origin of the expression *to be untouched*.”

Naturally enough in these examinations the distinctions of rank were observed. Although officers had by no means a smaller percentage of venereal diseases (indeed at the front stations they contributed a greater contingent) they were exempt from examinations. The consequences of this exemption can be gathered from an official order of one corps issued in 1917 in which, as a result of the spread of venereal disease among the officers, the extension of examination to the younger officers was enjoined. Despite such injunctions nothing very much was accomplished in the matter of the sanitary control of the officers.

If such a comparatively easy task as supervising officers could not be accomplished, it is no wonder then that no one paid any attention to the plan of keeping syphilitic soldiers out of the army, a device which would have prevented the extragenital dissemination of syphilis. According to the regulations issued in 1916 relative to eligibility for military service, luetics were fit for military service if they had no other physical defect and if there was a possibility of restoring them to some degree of health in a short time. The only precautionary measures adopted were that luetics with infectious phenomena near or in the mouth were not transported in trains. They were sent to the nearest military hospital where the infectious mouth conditions were treated and cured.

During the war there was much discussion whether penalties should be attached to non-use of precautionary measures, and more particularly, whether the contraction of venereal disease in itself constituted an offense or just the concealment of the disease once it had been contracted.

In connection with this point, Dr. B. Beron, military physician to the Bulgarian army in Macedonia, has reported the following: “At the very first moment the regulation was issued that every soldier who had contracted a venereal disease should be ‘correspondingly’ punished. But it had defects which paralyzed its beneficial effects, namely, the soldier endeavored to conceal his disease, thus exposing himself to the most dangerous complications of the dread disease, and his comrades to contagion; and secondly, the soldier would keep secret where he had become infected and so rob us of any possibility of controlling the prostitute who was the source of the infection and taking measures to cure her. Hence it

was decided to mete out punishment (several days' arrest) only when the soldier had concealed the disease."

In the German army also the more humane solution was chosen for reasons of economy and only the concealment of the disease was punished. But by this measure very little was accomplished, for no soldier felt any qualms at having contracted the disease. Not only did the soldiers gladly report when they contracted any venereal disease (there being no penalty for that), but there was another consequence of perhaps greater moment. Since all penalties were lacking, numerous soldiers neglected to take the necessary precautions against infection as the course of treatment took some time and during this cure-period at least the man was saved from the danger of death. There seemed to be no escape from this dilemma. With freedom from penalties for having contracted the disease the temptation to wanton infection was too great, especially in view of the negligible importance attributed to gonorrhoea. On the other hand, strict punishments led to wholesale concealment. In this fashion it was possible in the Austrian army, where lax and draconian treatment would alternate rhapsodically, that luetic soldiers should be on the march and carry out all the other fatiguing duties of the soldier's life, suffering the most agonizing pain all the time. It was as though they were eager to disprove the assertion of Blaschko that, with soldiers suffering from gonorrhoea, it was impossible to march or to fight victorious battles.

In the Serbian army affliction with a venereal disease was a punishable offense. In the American forces, contraction of lues was punished by deprivation of pay and limitation of freedom until the malady had been cured. Anyone who had contracted these diseases and failed to seek medical attention was hauled before a military court and, in case he had infected others, was sentenced to prison.

The matter of treatment aroused considerable difference of opinion partly among medical men and partly among military authorities. The method of treatment had to be decided if the combating of venereal diseases by the military and medical authorities was to be successful. There were groups who were of the opinion that venereal disease was a trick to get out of service in the field and these people always inclined to treat these cases as ambulatory ones and carry out the course of therapy in the field. Thus in December, 1914, Dr. Oppenheimer expressed the opinion that even patients with acute gonorrhoea should be kept at the front and treated there. Dr. Karl Ziegler of Würzburg held that it was possible under certain

conditions to treat cases of latent syphilis in the field, but that conditions at the front made it extremely difficult to treat soft chancre and gonorrhoea.

Fortunately this opinion was rejected by the majority of physicians. At the beginning they even went to the opposite extreme and sent home from the Belgian front any soldier who had contracted a venereal disease—this in accordance with a hygienic prescription set forth by Töply in 1890 that only healthy individuals be permitted to remain within the sphere of operations, all others being sent home to hospitals. But later on, as the number of such patients increased, this policy was altered and treatment was accorded these people in the hospitals that had been established in the occupied territory.

Dr. Bettman, therefore, came to the conclusion which every dermatologist who had ever been active in the field would agree with: that treatment in the field was impossible and hospitalization was necessary lest the malady become aggravated; isolation of these patients in special hospitals was indicated lest they spread their infection. In certain cases it would, of course, be possible to release some of these patients from the hospital and use them for certain tasks, continuing the treatment ambulatorily.

In the English and French armies the question of ambulatory treatment was apparently never discussed, yet here also concealments were quite frequent in many cases as a result of ignorance.

Despite the generally reasonable attitude of physicians to the question of therapy, there was much that was unsatisfactory in this regard in the German army. Many physicians were dominated in this connection by the desire to restore the diseased soldiers to military service as soon as possible. In this way many cases were released from the hospital before their cure was complete. Early in 1915 Dr. Carl Stern pointed out that there had been a tremendous growth in the number of cases of syphilis of extragenital infection. It was his belief that the great increase in labial chancres could not be explained solely by the desire of young girls for loving and kissing war-heroes, but that it was rather due to an underestimation of the power and durability of the disease once contracted, and a too enthusiastic dependence on the permanent effect of heavy doses of salvarsan. From these facts Dr. Stern concluded that it would be doing the soldiers a good turn to subject them to a longer cure even during the war. This premature discharge of

venereal patients was but one of the crimes committed by those super-patriots who happened to wear surgeon's uniforms.

The real source and breeding ground of venereal diseases was naturally the front station (Etape) with its ramified prostitution both in brothels and privately. Here the struggle against the infection of the army had to coincide with police regulations against those already infected who were fairly numerous on both the Western and Eastern fronts. In a little war brochure entitled *A Word to the Women* a very shrewd woman, Lydia Ruchland, has said:

"That there is no lack of temptations in the land of the enemy, everyone can see at once. And it isn't merely stark need that drives women to offer themselves. We must reckon, among the motives which impel the enemy women to give themselves, such factors as ardent temperament, the desire for variety, the inclination to give preference to a stranger. Hence the young soldier who, when he is healthy and normal, thinks of women as being always ready, got into a certain conflict. The war transvalued many things and only rarely were these changes advantageous. Concepts that once were fixed and certain, now became confused and loose as, for example, morals. Many a person got into the habit of taking whatever things he might need. Why should man as a sexual creature do otherwise? And it wasn't only the man that took the woman. I know of cases where very ardent Frenchwomen simply took our good humored German soldiers when the latter did not come of their own accord. Of course the military authorities were very careful and they didn't miss any woman who had given herself to any soldier; and whoever was sick or suspicious was held."

In quite a different style Wandt has reported concerning the conditions at the Flemish sector—but the upshot is the same as the previous account. "Venereal infection (called by the picturesque name of *Kopfschuss*, or a shot in the head) belonged to the minor accidents of war which happened a hundred times a day in our station. If this mishap befell an officer it seldom came to the ears of the curious world because the possession of epaulettes relieved one from the necessity of participating in the *hydrant and hose parade* which lasted four weeks. Still occasionally, the matter would get known through an accident or indiscretion. At such times the officer in question, to maintain the dignity of officialdom, would immediately be relieved of his duty and sent home where he would

generally spout interminably concerning the self-sacrificing-heroism with which he had given his health for his beloved fatherland.

“But if a common fellow got into hot water, and sustained the sort of *head shot* which would cause him to abstain from that combat which constitutes the joy of life, he would, of course, have no occasion to fear that the officer’s lot would be his, and that his misfortune would be cloaked over with Christian love. When the sanitary sergeant in charge of these matters observed the ineluctable impost of joy visited upon the little voyager into the realms of venery, he immediately reported the matter and the poor sinner would forthwith have to leave for the place devoted to such matters.

“There he was met by the irascible corporal or guardian with appropriate profanity and interrogated until he divulged the name and address of the philanthropic huckstress from whom he had bought this wonderful memento of the war. If he was able to give the name of the woman, or at least the address of the temple of love and her description, he was able to escape the brief prison sentence (three to seven days) which his chief would otherwise impose upon him. Every chap who fell under suspicion certainly didn’t want to have the added misfortune of lying in a dark hole for three to seven days and partaking of the sumptuous fare of bread and water.”

Very frequently the minutes taken at these meetings were ludicrous in their intense endeavor to make plausible to those higher up that the accused knew neither the name nor address of his fallen angel who had appeared to him during the night but, naturally, not in a dream. Every third girl in Flanders is called Marie and there are innumerable records of such hearings in which only this prænomen serves to distinguish the benevolent lady in question.

Such cases were exceedingly frequent. During the war the French had a popular ballad called *La saucisse de Strasbourg* (the little sausage of Strasbourg) which took as its theme this sort of occurrence. It relates how a German soldier who had quaffed too deeply of the joys of love became infected and had to suffer the removal of his little sausage, in which mournful state he returned home after the war and had to confess to his shocked and sorrowful wife the loss of that which had united them.

The other armies also believed that they could control the spread of venereal diseases by ascertaining where the infections had been gotten and by controlling or removing these sources. Thus

Dr. B. Beron of Sofia has informed us that on the Macedonian front strict inquiries were made among the soldiers as to whether they had become infected before or after mobilization; and if the latter, just where the infection had been derived—whether in Serbia, Macedonia, public or private brothels, coffee houses, hotels, private houses, etc. It certainly would have helped if they had been able to get information from the soldiers directly, but it was Dr. Beron's opinion, as a result of his experience with numerous soldiers, that they never told the truth, and always were inclined to antedate their infection to a period before mobilization in order to escape the military penalties for having sustained an infection during war service. To get around this fear, Dr. Beron always assured the soldiers in advance that no punishment would be meted out to them if they told the truth. Of course in every case he compared their history with the clinical picture of the disease before him.

In many cases the information given by soldiers who had contracted venereal diseases led to the dissolution of brothels and other establishments where venereal diseases could be transmitted. Shortly after the outbreak of the war some notoriety was achieved by a brothel in Chauny near Laon, a French city of about 10,000 inhabitants. This temple of love was shut because a whole group of infected soldiers, whom Professor Buschke saw in Berlin, unanimously reported this brothel at Chauny to have been the source of their infection. Thereupon this physician reported this to the military authorities who immediately closed that infamous establishment.

In general it may be said that with the increasing number of venereal diseases in the war sectors, the demand for women grew much greater than the supply. The few prostitutes who, especially in the smaller places, had to supply the needs of the enormous masses of troops quartered there, were doomed to disease sooner or later, despite all sanitary precautions, and of course, transmitted their infection. In the war book, *Four of the Infantry*, the author describes how a German soldier, known to his friends by the nickname of *Student*, is hiding behind the front line in a cellar to escape a rain of shrapnel and grenades. With him in this cellar is a young French woman who tells him softly that she is fearfully afraid. Thereupon the student takes her hand and tells her that there in the cellar they're quite safe, particularly since he is with her. She smiles in amusement over his quaint efforts to speak French and replies that unfortunately his machine is *kaput*. Whereupon he

thinks to himself that this may not be true altogether. At any rate he ardently hopes that it is false; but the derisive taunt of the French woman makes him perceptibly cooler. Unfortunately the lady's remark was all too true. He observes her rusty red hair, her numerous freckles, her mole with a little tuft of hair growing out of it, and mutters to himself, "Gosh, what a terrible thing that is!" "You mean the shooting?" she asks. "No, the other," he replied. To which she answers, "You leave us many children. What will our husbands say when they return home?" "Well," he replies mockingly, "will the great nation become much worse as a result of the blood mixture?" Her answer was, "But who pays, my good sir?" And he answers, "Many of us pay with our health, girl, and lie a-rotting in hospitals."

What the student said here was only too true. A considerable proportion of the young German soldiers who had started out from home in perfect health and through some good fortune had escaped all the dangers of the front, nevertheless fell a prey at one front station or another. The machine which had become *kaput* became in northern France and Belgium a standing designation for this drastic casualty of the war and was a constant reminder of this tragic aspect of military exploits. In the occupied territory the following little ballad was sung:

*Malheur la guerre,
Nix pomme de terre,
C'est la misère partout.
Papa Kanon,
Mamon ballon,
Ma sœur machine capout.
("O Isabella, rends-moi mon mari!")*

After all that has been said, it should not surprise us to learn that the hospitals for the venereally diseased, called, by the way, in the language of the German soldiers, *Knightly Castles (Ritterburgen)* were always crowded. One does not need a particularly vivid imagination to conjure up the way in which the ordinary soldier was treated in these places. For the physicians no method of treatment was too drastic if only it promised to accelerate the healing process. Wandt has left us very painful descriptions of the agonizing screams that could be heard during the daily application of the torturous syringe.

One very important aspect of venereal diseases during the war is

the question of their distribution among various age groups and classes of population. Even at the very beginning of the war it was observed, in practically every land, that a great proportion of these diseased were recruited from the ranks of the older married men and soldiers who came from the country rather than the city. Shortly after the outbreak of the war Dr. Albert Neisser made these observations in Germany. It was his opinion that in regard to the first category of men just mentioned, there was considerable extenuation in that they were men of settled and ordered lives and accustomed to a certain routine in erotic fulfillment, and that, torn away as they were from their normal family life, they were particularly oppressed by long continued abstinence. He felt, furthermore, that among the lower classes in general the views relative to sexual intercourse are much looser and more naïve. Even in peace time an enormous percentage of the men who come for treatment to the hospitals and clinics (generally workers or poor people of other kinds) are married. The other important point that impressed him was the growth in the number of country people who had become diseased. Whereas, until that time, rustics—men and women alike—had been almost entirely free from venereal disease, it was now to be feared that, unless special measures were taken the whole countryside would be swept by these plagues.

This supposition of Neisser's was thoroughly established by subsequent events. Statistics show, for example, that in the lazaret at Stettin a third of the soldiers treated there in 1915 for venereal diseases were married; and as the war went on this number increased. In the hospital at Fraustadt the number went up to 41 per cent and a similar tendency was observable among men who had come from the country. On the basis of these data, Dr. Blumenfeld of that hospital drew the following conclusions:

1. Married men constitute a noteworthy proportion of those suffering from venereal diseases, a proportion considerably greater than that in peace times.
2. The older aged groups are more represented than is the case normally.
3. A portion of the rural population which, in general until now, has been free from venereal diseases has become infected. In this way the rural communities are now exposed to the danger of being swept by these diseases.

4. Occasional prostitution appears to have a considerable share in the dissemination of venereal diseases.

Concerning the question of how these diseases were acquired, it is impossible to get a closer notion because the statistics are contradictory on this point. At a meeting of military physicians held at Lemberg in 1915, Dr. Moldawa stated that of all venereal diseases 5 per cent were gotten at the front, 20 per cent at stations immediately behind the front or on the route of the march, and 75 per cent outside the domain of the army. There can be no question that in these figures the proportion of the battlefront is considerably underestimated. Dr. F. Veress has stated that one-third of the venereally diseased soldiers on the east Galician front had gotten the disease at home, whereas the other two-thirds had become infected in the zone of operations and the stations behind the line.

In order to prevent the dissemination to the hinterland of venereal diseases contracted at the front, or immediately behind the lines, certain regulations were adopted whereby the soldier about to depart for a furlough would have to submit to a physical examination. Unfortunately, however, this regulation was either neglected or so superficially observed that no good came of it. There were constant complaints from women that they had become infected by their husbands who had returned home on a furlough to seek a bit of happiness. We can readily see how there was a continual exchange of the germs of infection between the front and the hinterland. In one of his war novels, Bruno Vogel has given a tragic account of a young officer who had become diseased shortly before his furlough and, during his visit home, impregnated his wife while giving her the devastating infection he had so recently acquired.

The observations of Professor Fraenkel of Breslau on this point are exceedingly illuminating. In speaking of the sexual dangers to the women from the war he said, "After having been absent from home for almost a year, I returned home from my military duties but I was unable to give much time to my gynecological practice because I had to devote myself almost exclusively to surgery. However, among the comparatively few women who did seek me out during the first few months after my return and desired gynecological treatment, I saw ten gonorrhoeas. It is worth while to pause for a moment to inquire where and how these women had gotten the infection. Four of the women were wives of officers

who had been in Belgium or France for a long time. Two others were wives of reserve officers who had just returned from Russia. Those six cases were undoubtedly consequences of the war. The two reserve officers had found life dreadfully dull out there in the desert waste of the Eastern front, so when the looser of the two got a Polish girl into his hands he induced his more sedate friend to have sexual intercourse with her also, and he virtually pushed the girl into the bed of his surprised and rather reluctant friend. Of the older officers one very calmly narrated that shortly before his furlough, which had come as a sudden surprise, he had been unable to withstand the temptations of a prostitute and then, unaware of the fact that he had sustained an infection, returned home and had coitus with his wife. As soon as he noted the calamity that had befallen him, he immediately brought his wife, who didn't know what it was all about, for examination; but it was too late for gonorrhea had already set in. Another one of the older officers had infected his wife once before and now made her believe that it was no new infection but only a recurrence of the old one.

In this and in all similar cases it is worth noting that the soldier sustained the infection shortly before getting the furlough. This is much less due to sexual impatience than to the temptation of the front station which they happened to be passing.

Through the energetic devices mentioned before, the German military officers succeeded in checking the spread of venereal diseases. And in the first two years of the war some fairly advantageous results were obtained. But all the statistics which were interpreted as indicating a considerable decrease, or at any rate limitation of the spread of venereal disease, later on proved themselves to be quite illusory. Like many of the other devastating effects of the war the disintegrating effect of venereal diseases showed itself only later in the post-war period. With this condition we shall have to deal later when we take up that period in some detail. For the present we will content ourselves with stating that the fear that sexual diseases would become widespread proved to be well-founded, and that this effect, well known from all previous wars, could in the World War be effectively regulated by strict and almost inhuman discipline but could not be thoroughly controlled or eliminated.

It is purely deception when people wished to make the Revolution and the *license* consequent upon it responsible for the rotten fruit of war. Among others Dr. Merkel has shared this viewpoint.

But when we examine Dr. Merkel's report we see that all they find is that the soldier in the trenches had very little opportunity of contracting venereal infections, a circumstance which certainly needs no proof at this time. Merkel's figures prove how numbers can be true and yet lie. For many soldiers the Armistice was their first real furlough and hence the venereal diseases sustained immediately after the end of the World War are to be regarded as true shots in the head (*Kopfschüsse*) and their wounds must be regarded as sacrifices of war. Indeed it may be said very definitely that had more furloughs been granted during the war, the number of diseased would have been far more considerable, for in those departments of the service where furloughs were frequent or more extensive, as among the U-boat crews and the navy in general, Dr. Fikentschers has observed a threefold increase in syphilis and a doubling in the number of gonorrhœa cases as compared to the normal peace time figures.

In the other armies which lacked the hygienic organization of the Germans, these consequences became apparent even earlier. In its New Year's issue for the year 1916, the *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* asserted that, in the first year and a half of the war, venereal diseases had shown a terrifying growth among the Austrian army and the civil population, a condition which threatened the physical and mental degeneration of posterity. (We might remember in this connection the reminder of one of the military physicians of the Austrian army who, already at the beginning of 1916 had noticed, among the sequelæ of gonorrhœa, certain diseases of the organs of generation which made procreation impossible.)

Regarding the spread of venereal diseases in the English army, we can, in the absence of figures, say only that the numbers must have corresponded to the enormous increases of these diseases in England itself concerning which we shall have more to say later on. Moreover, in the memoirs of British soldiers we nearly always find some reference to venereal infections as, for example, the instance in Graves' novel, *Good-bye to All That*.

As far as the Russian army is concerned, we know that in Kiev in May of 1916 a medical congress was called to combat venereal diseases, and at this meeting a most grievous picture was drawn of the unsanitary conditions in the Russian field of occupation. During peace times the district of Kiev treated about 2000 cases annually, but during 1915 this number had risen to 20,500. It was known that the majority of twelve-year-old girls were already infected.

The complete license and immorality of soldiers returning home from the front made any form of control impossible. The congress decided to distribute informative leaflets in these districts and to give lectures to the soldiers concerning the dangers of these diseases. The great dissemination of venereal diseases in the Czar's realm is sufficiently obvious from the consequences of the Russian occupation in Galicia. In 1916, after the Russians had departed, there were in Lemberg alone 1340 women whom the police drove to the hospitals for treatment as against an average of 100 in peace times.

In the French army also syphilis sowed a great harvest. The famous syphilologist, Professor Gaucher, reported at a meeting of the Paris Academy of Medicine in 1917 that the health of the people was being progressively undermined by lues, and demanded immediate action. Whereas in the first sixteen months of the war syphilis increased in the French army by one-third, in the last months of 1916 the total figures were two-thirds above normal times. A great number of these diseased had contracted their infection in or near France. Two sick soldiers stated that they had become infected in the hospital where they had been taken because of certain wounds they had sustained on the battlefield. It was also noted that the number of married men among these sufferers was comparatively high.

In the United States the spread of venereal diseases was noted immediately after mobilization. Whereas in the last twenty years the venereally diseased in the army was 16 per cent, Russell found that it had risen to 40 per cent.

The terrifying spread of venereal diseases which the war brought about contrasted strangely with the illusions of those who accepted all the terrors and tears of war as the *fata morgana* of the free play of impulses as unconstrained as among animals. The infection of the people of all the warring nations rose even though every sort of measure was taken against it. In 1917, for example, the chiefs of the German military were concerned with various measures which would have to be taken when demobilization began. They came to the conclusion that, even after the end of the war, it would be necessary to keep the military brothels and the hospitals for the venereal diseased in order to protect those at home from infection. All the sanitary divisions were ordered to keep the strictest watch over these matters and to report every single case with full details concerning the source of infection, etc., by which means it was

hoped to prevent the spread of these diseases at the end of the war, but all these familiar methods of control proved to be quite illusory among the victors as a result of the madness of victory, and among the Central powers as a result of the chaos induced by their downfall.

A Hungarian lyricist, Andreas Ady, in whose veins there runs syphilitic blood, wrote at the outbreak of the war that "his despised and holy wounds had risen on the body of all mankind." This visionary picture, awful and apocalyptic as it is, did become literal truth as a result of the vast flood of venereal disease which spread over all the battlegrounds of Europe and was carried to all parts of the world when the armies returned home.

Chapter 6

WOMEN SOLDIERS AND FEMALE BATTALIONS

Women Soldiers in Battle—True Stories of Female Soldiers—Russian Female Soldiers—Yellow Martha—Schoolgirls on the Battlefield—Other Strange Cases—Women Battalions of Kerensky—The Charge of the Female Battalions—Rout of Male Soldiers—Serbian Women—The League of Death—Disguised French Women—Arrests of French Women Disguised as Male Soldiers—Female Aviatrices—Mounted Female Guard of London—English Amazons—War Propaganda of Women—Unusual Cases of Disguise—Man or Woman, Which?—Examples of Female Heroism—Attempts of German Women to Smuggle Themselves into Army—Ukrainian Battalion—Women in Polish Legion—The Grave of the Unknown Woman Soldier

EVEN during the war the question of the participation of female soldiers aroused considerable interest. From the known data on this subject, it appeared that in practically every army certain women participated as actual soldiers, partly with the knowledge and consent of the military authorities and partly unknown to the latter, in which case, disguised, they made their way into the army. In the latter case it appears likely that we are dealing with a sexual-pathological satisfaction of impulse. At the very outbreak of the war, Dr. Burchard called our attention to the fact that many female transvestites were eagerly joining the army and participating in all the bloody functions of war.

We certainly shall not be wrong in assuming that in a great number of these cases of female soldiers we are dealing with transvestitional and homosexual impulses.

Women who feel an unconquerable urge and compulsion to put on masculine clothes and to practice a masculine calling, and all other members of the weaker sex whose whole psychic attitude is masculine, obviously will have a particular predilection for the soldier's life which has always been regarded as the masculine occupation, *par excellence*. It is understandable then that such women, when the opportunity is offered, will seize it gladly and eagerly devote themselves to active warfare. We must not, to be sure, overlook the suspicion that in certain cases the predominant motive was a sadistic one.

Inasmuch as statistics concerning the number of female soldiers in the various armies during the World War were not published, we have to rely upon conjecture. It would appear as though they were most numerous and active in the Russian army. Even at the

beginning of the World War, the Cossack regiments had a number of Cossack girls in their ranks. This is to be explained by the fact that in Russia, in the country districts at least, women have always performed a masculine rôle in a way that is unfamiliar to the rest of Europe; this had been true for centuries, particularly in the Mir communities. In the middle of 1915 the London *Graphic* had the following report concerning the Cossack and certain female military chieftains:

“In Russia four hundred women are bearing arms. Most of them are part of the Siberian regiment. Until now fifty have been killed or wounded. The number of these warring women is noteworthy, especially when one takes into consideration the numerous difficulties which stand in the way of such activities, for in no land were women drawn into military service. The sixth regiment of Ural Cossacks had a female captain by the name of Kokovtseva. This woman was twice wounded and received the St. George Cross with guarantee of a military pension. It appeared that for many years her husband had belonged to a certain Cossack regiment and when the war broke out she arranged matters in such a way that she got into the same regiment. The Don Cossacks also had a woman officer in the person of Alexandra Ephimowna Lagareva. Another woman, Olga Jehlweiser, could look back upon a very interesting and distinguished war record. She served in the Manchurian War under General Rennenkampf and participated in numerous important battles in Manchuria. Recently she has been very active in the battles around Grodno. Another Russian woman fighter who participated in three battles was known as the *Yellow Martha* because of her blonde locks.”

In addition there is data concerning the heroic deeds accomplished by Russian women who were disguised in men's clothing and of the subsequent military honors that came to these heroines. Thus the *Toronto Globe* for February 4, 1915, reported that among the wounded who had returned to Moscow from the front, there was a nineteen-year-old girl by the name of Olga Krasilnikoff. After she had participated in nineteen battles in Poland she sustained a leg-wound. This girl had enlisted under a masculine name and the deception had escaped notice until this time. She was awarded the St. George Cross of the fourth class. Then the *New Orleans Call* for February 10, 1915, reported that Natalie Tychmini, a co-ed from Kiev, had received the St. George order for distinguished service. In a battle with the Austrians at Opatow she

brought munitions to the trenches under very heavy fire and then stayed on to take care of the wounded. This girl had also come to the front in man's clothing. After she was wounded she remained on the battlefield and was found by the Austrian Red Cross who took her under their care. When the Russians recaptured Opatow she was discovered in the hospital and sent back to Kiev.

In February, 1916, the Russian military headquarters reported that in the vicinity of Bojan a certain corporal, Glustschenko, had performed a deed of indubitable heroism. This person was really a young girl named Tscherniawska who had begged for this particular assignment, an extremely difficult and dangerous task, which entailed crawling into the enemy's barbed wire. Despite the fact that she sustained a grave leg-wound with a fractured joint, she performed her task and then crawled back to her own trenches.

That this participation of Russian women in the war was not confined to the lower ranks of society, appears from the following two reports. The first, derived from English newspapers, is given here just as it appeared in the *Secolo*:

"We are dealing here with the war adventures of young girls who took part in the Russian defensive in Galicia and in the Carpathians. Without informing anyone of their plans, twelve of these girls left school in Moscow, made their voyage to Lemberg where they dressed as soldiers and succeeded in joining the army without having their sex detected. One of the young adventuresses, Zoya Smirnow, has described the fate of this unmounted corps of Amazons. The first time that bombs burst upon their division, the two youngest, Schura and Lydia, each only fourteen, began to cry; soon all the others began to weep. Their first victim fell in a battle in the Carpathians, torn to pieces by a bomb which fell at her feet. Her friends buried her and set up a cross with a tiny inscription. Subsequently, the fourteen-year-old Nadya Zhana and Schura were wounded. Finally the narratress herself was injured and when, as a consequence of a second wound, she was sent to the hospital, her sex was finally discovered."

The second case was reported to the *Temps* from St. Petersburg:

"In a military hospital at Charkov there was recently brought a woman soldier who turned out to be the famous Princess Wolonsky who had participated in the offensive in Wolhynia as an ordinary soldier. The princess was twenty-two years old, tall and athletic. Her husband had fallen at the beginning of the war and a little later her father and brother also. To avenge the death of her

loved ones, the princess joined an infantry regiment which stood on the Russian southwest front. When her sex was discovered, she was brought to Kiev. But she managed to escape and joined another regiment, in all the battles of which on the Wolhynian front, she actually participated without being recognized. The princess expressed her desire and intention of returning to the front."

The creation of several women's battalions after the first Russian revolution aroused the greatest enthusiasm. The initiative in this enterprise is attributed to Kerensky himself. As early as July, 1917, the news of the first of these battalions was brought to the north front. The first Russian women's battalion, under the leadership of Marie Baktscharow, who had been advanced to the rank of lieutenant, finally arrived at the northern front. This first battalion comprised 250 women, some of whom had already participated in battles and some of whom had belonged to the sanitary corps as nurses. There were also some eighteen-year-old students.

We might remark here that the famous English woman, Miss Pankhurst, who was touring Russia at this time, regarded the formation of this women's battalion *as the greatest event in the world's history*. According to Swiss reports, the first Russian women's division received its baptism of fire in the vicinity of Smorgon. The women fought so bravely that they heartened all the neighboring divisions. Concerning their method of warfare, the *London Exchange* has reported the following interesting information:

"A peasant girl related that she found herself right next to a German, ran him through with her bayonet and at the same time shot him and took his helmet for a memento. . . . Another girl related that before they went over the top they were all very much excited and scared. But when the order to charge came she forgot everything and leaped over the top with the mob of screaming and bellowing girls. All excitement had virtually disappeared when the time came for shooting. This despite the fact that bombs were bursting all around. The first dead man that she saw made her pause for a moment but she just had to go on and therefore passed right over his dead body, a thing to which she soon became quite accustomed. Another girl related how her battalion had surrounded a company of German soldiers who threw away their weapons, held up their hands and shouted in amazement, 'Good Lord! Women!'"

A certain Austrian officer whose regiment fought against a Russian women's battalion sent us the following communication:

"Especially in attack did they show themselves to be brave and

not infrequently blood-thirsty soldiers. Naturally we were quite far from feeling any knightly sentiments towards these Penthesileas. Nevertheless these battles of men against women were thoroughly abominable to us because they contradicted our esthetic feeling, which God knows, the war had made hard enough, and so whenever possible we avoided fighting them and just tried to capture them. It is interesting to note that these female warriors did not wear trousers, but blue smocks. These were the first skirts we had ever seen that left the knees bare. It is quite remarkable that these Valkyries, who in attack proved themselves so extraordinarily brave, were quite different in artillery fire. (We also saw the same thing among the Bosnians who in attack were distinguished by a sort of bestial wildness, whereas under cannonade some of them grew so terrified that they actually committed suicide.) As far as we could learn, these female Russian soldiers were nearly always urban workers who had been unable to find employment at home (remarkably enough, many were of German descent), or working women whose husbands had either fallen in the war or been in military service for a long time."

The Serbian women also took an intensive part in the wars against the Austrian troops who were invading their land. Among this little heroic band of freedom-loving people there were battalions of women even before the war. These female volunteers who entered the army called themselves *The League of Death*; and at the head of this organization there stood a simple peasant woman, advanced in years, who was the daughter and widow of heroes who had distinguished themselves in the wars of independence against the Turks. Later on this enlisted corps grew so large that a whole regiment was formed and stationed at Kragujevac. The commander-in-chief of the army accepted most gratefully the services of these female troops. In a short time this little female army comprised 2400 fighters equipped with all the instruments of war and trained by officers. This contingent included peasants, urban workers and women of rank.

After the outbreak of the war, American sources reported the case of a young Serbian woman, named Sophie Jowanowitsch, who had received permission from King Peter to fight in the army wearing the uniform of a common soldier, and also of another seventeen-year-old co-ed of Belgrade, Milena Manditsch, who also took part in the war as a volunteer.

In France, women soldiers were not permitted in the army.

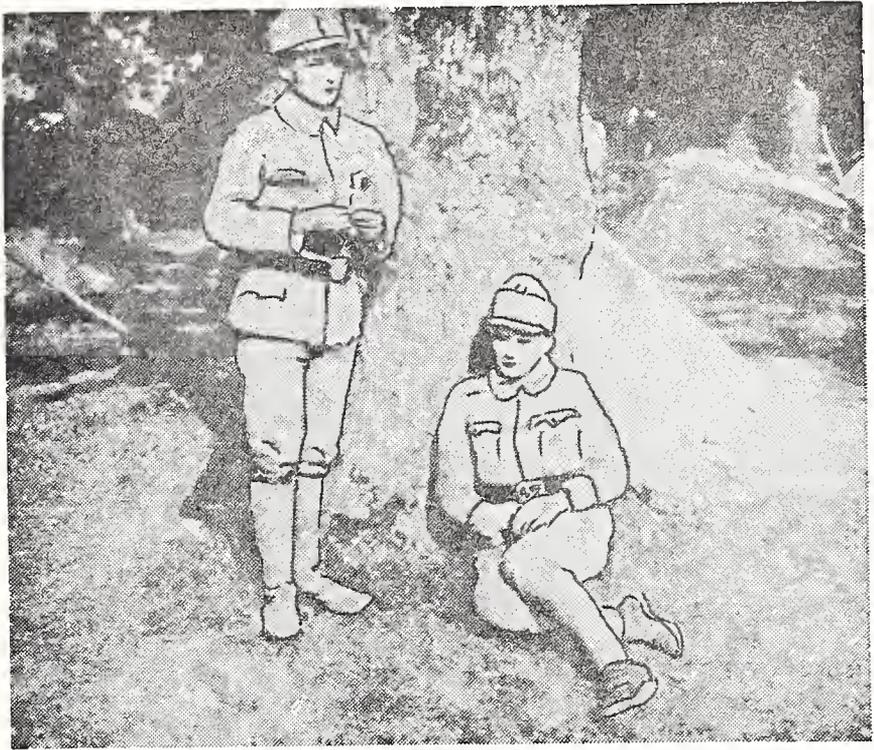
Early in 1915 the press of the Central Powers reported that Parisian women had determined to form a regiment of women at the head of which there was to be a certain painter, Madame Arno. However, these reports were not confirmed. Still in January, 1916, the *Eclair* reported that certain women had volunteered their services to the army and been accepted. In addition French women participated in the war in certain cases disguised as men. We might mention two such instances. Among the wounded who were brought to Noisy-le-Sec, there was a young laundry girl dressed in the full uniform of a French soldier. Not until she got to the hospital was her sex discovered. The other case concerned three women, a young woman and two girls, aged twenty-two and twenty-six, of the town of Montrueil (Henriette Jary, Marie Rouault and Georgette Vincent). These enterprising ladies had cut their hair and put on the uniform of the Zouaves in which disguise they were accepted into a Zouave regiment at Fort Rosny where they had many friends. When the detachment had to leave for the front the sex of the women was discovered and they were arrested for illegitimate wearing of military uniforms and on suspicion of engaging in espionage activities.

Of much greater importance is the activity of female chauffeurs who were used for transporting troops during the first march of the Germans on Paris. Moreover, French female fliers came to the support of male aviators. The *Petit Journal* reported in October, 1915, that Madame Richter, the general secretary of the patriotic union of the French female fliers, and Mlle. Provost-Damedos, the secretary of this organization, had sent in a most urgent request to military headquarters that their services and those of their colleagues be immediately requisitioned. The exploits of the French military flier, Helene Dutreux, became especially famous. She was known in the army as the *Eagle* and won the cross of the Legion of Honor. She was a Belgian by birth and was the first woman whom the French government permitted to become a military aviatrix in Paris.

There were also some English women who tried to get to the front as soldiers. It is well known that there was a women's auxiliary corps which was permitted to serve only at home. Then too, there was organized in London a mounted female guard which was prepared for action in the event of a German attack. In all these cases there is much more involved than merely playing at being soldier. The same is true also of the nurses who in England and the

United States were organized in a thoroughly military fashion. The American writer, Hayden Church, has left us a description of the English Amazons, the so-called female recruits of Kitchener. This female army was composed of girls and women of all classes between the ages of eighteen and forty. In this army could be found famous titled women who, not quite a year ago, might have been found in the streets of London battling with police and after their arrest going on hunger-strikes until they were released. Now all these girls and women were being taught to shoot and ride and were being systematically drilled by army officers just as were the recruits of Kitchener; they were drilled according to the same regulations as the soldiers of the army. Among them could be found many stenographers, teachers, saleswomen, etc., who were employed and who sacrificed all their leisure time in order to take part in these maneuvers. All classes of society were represented in this female army, from the highest nobility down to cooks. Many noble women had themselves transferred to other companies because they held it to be beneath their dignity to drill in the same group as their own domestics. The chiefs of this army were Lady Londonderry and her adjutant, a certain Mrs. Haverfield, the widow of an artillery officer and the real founder of this female army. It was the hope of the latter that her troops would actually get to the firing line. If that hope should turn out to be impossible Mrs. Haverfield felt that the drill would have been a definite advantage anyhow. She felt that her soldiers could at the very least be employed as messengers to and from various fields of battle. Their corps grew faster than it could be accommodated, and they had branches in practically every city. All their recruits were urged to practice shooting and it was their fond belief that if official authority were issued to them, they would be able to give the German invaders a very hot welcome indeed.

These English women who were carried away by their enthusiasm for war, exercised a most pernicious influence through their strong and noxious war propaganda, the importance of which was much greater in this land, where women played so large a part, than that of the female regiments. Thus in September, 1916, the *Morning Post* carried a letter signed *Little Mother* and bearing the title: *A Message to Pacifists*. This letter was then reprinted as a brochure and in one week some 75,000 copies were distributed. The writer expressed the profoundest regard for her sex and attributed the most important function in the world to them as the mother of the



UKRAINIAN WOMEN SOLDIERS IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARMY

men who were fighting not only for the honor of the fatherland and their kingdom, but for the whole moral world. This woman, who was so filled with a keen sense of the tremendous importance of women in that crisis of world history, then went on to say the following: "Send us the pacifists and we will soon show them and the rest of the world that in our homes at least there is now no longer any calm sitting by the fire in the winter and no enervating attempts at cooling oneself during the heat of summer, but that for the women of the British race there is only one temperature, namely that of white heat."

An even more precious example of the war propaganda carried on by English women, is the letter of a sailor's wife to the recruiting office reprinted in the *Daily Mail*: "If there should be any need of men, do not forget to give women the chance of fighting for their King and land. I own a musket and munition and I know how to use them. There are many others like me. That is why I am holding

myself ready in case you should call us or need us or at least give us the chance of putting an end to a few fat Germans.”

Despite these brave words, participation of English women was confined at the most to certain technical services. Early in 1915 the Italian press reported that under the command of Countess Castle-reagh there was formed in London a regiment of four hundred women who accompanied the English army to the continent and helped in telephone, commissary and munition services. The women of this regiment were for the most part suffragettes between the ages of twenty and forty. The formation of another regiment was even considered. These female troops had uniforms of their own and in place of hats, they had dark blue head coverings.

One also heard of a *Women Signallers' Territorial Corps* under the command of the sister of Lord Kitchener, Mrs. Parker. The members of this corps received a complete course in the art of signalling in all its branches including semaphore, flagging, whistling, heliograph, lamps, telegraphy and wireless.

In the quarterly reports of the *Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitee*, edited by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, to whose rich collection we owe the most of our information on this subject, we find two cases of English women who were so drawn to the war that they tried to accompany the army to the battlefield disguised as men. The first was a young girl who accompanied a group of military fliers. The French gendarmes caught her at Dijon. She wore the military uniform of the flier and had short hair. They decided that the best thing to do for this twenty-six-year-old English woman was to send her back to her parents. The other case concerned an English woman, Flora Sanders, who issued a book under the title *An English Woman Sergeant in the Serbian Army*, participated in the whole Serbian offensive and finally was wounded at Monastir.

When America entered the war the American women did not wish to lag behind their English sisters and showed themselves to be just as enraptured about the war, even if their propaganda activity didn't assume the proportions of the British. They wanted to be of service in order to show that the men could not get along without them. In the great Preparedness Parade which took place, even before the war, on May 13, 1916, 20,000 women participated. Then, too, other preparations for war were made by women. Thus in Washington two hundred young girls and women, the majority of them wives of officers, attended a two weeks' training camp in

order to learn the rudiments of military practice. After the declaration of war some American women, following the French example, entered the flying corps; and one woman was reported as being accepted in the coast artillery as a signaler.

In the German army, as in the French, the entrance of women was prohibited and yet there are historical examples that this prohibition was violated by certain women who dressed up as men. Cases of this sort, which became known during the World War, make us suspect very strongly that in practically every one we are dealing with what is called in modern sexology *men-women* (*mannweiber*) or female transvestites. In the press of the Allies there frequently appeared reports that in the German army women were participating as volunteers. Thus the Warsaw correspondent of the Petersburg *Dijen* reported that he had seen such Amazons in the very first months of the war. These women were captured and brought to the hospital at Ouyazdoff. They all wore regular uniforms and from their wounds it was possible to judge that they had participated, not only in trench defensive warfare, but in bayonet fights as well. One of them actually died from bayonet wounds.

Frequently the press reported unsuccessful attempts by women to smuggle themselves into the army in male disguise. Thus there is a case of a girl of nineteen, Clara B. of Insterburg, who, uprooted from her home as a result of the military campaign in East Prussia and unable to find employment, decided to join the army. She cut her hair, donned male clothing and joined a company of men. In some way or other she was able to evade preliminary examination. At any rate for a couple of weeks she went through all the drills and maneuvers. Finally, when it was impossible to defer the medical examination any longer, she went to the leader of the detachment and confessed everything. All her entreaties to the contrary notwithstanding, she was refused permission to remain in the army; and after she had been provided with women's clothing she was sent home to Danzig where she was able to train as a nurse.

We now come to the interesting question of the erroneous determination of sex of which an instance was reported in the *Berliner Volkzeitung*. On the basis of this report, we are inclined to think that the war lust of many women was very likely due to such erroneous determination of sex.

In one of the suburbs of Berlin there was a girl, Erna B., a domestic, who had several times applied to the military authorities with the most passionate and earnest request that she be permitted

to join the army. Her first request was made immediately after the outbreak of the war when she was eighteen. Of course at that time she was refused and was informed that in the German army women were not wanted. When she came of age, she once again applied, both in writing and in person, for permission to join. She asserted that ever since her childhood she had always felt and acted like a boy, and that she had always been interested in masculine activities and professions. Because of these assertions the physician of the post where she was applying began to think that this girl might be a case of erroneous sexual determination, one of those remarkably interesting cases which in recent years have occupied the attention of scientists. For this reason she was turned over to the specialist, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, with the request that he ascertain whether Erna B. was a case of erroneous sex determination which would warrant legal alteration of her sexual status. As a matter of fact, the examination revealed that the masculine feeling of the young girl was due to her physique and her spiritual life, the masculine male sex characters being so predominant that she could be regarded as belonging to the male sex. On the basis of these results, the *Fräulein* requested the court at Potsdam to permit her to change her name from Erna to Ernest and also to wear masculine clothing. Furthermore, she requested that her application for military service be given the earliest possible consideration now that the former obstacle had been removed. This case leads us to inquire whether a considerable number of those cases of former times, where women pressed forward to join the army, would not, on investigation, have turned out to be cases of erroneous sex determination, a concept which was unknown before our generation. As far as the allies of Germany are concerned, E. K. Mygind had reported that Turkish women frequently accompanied their husbands to the battlefields and took part in the battles as, for example, in those on the Caucasian front. In the Austrian army the entry of women into active military service was not hindered by law and there were a number of instances to show that women did make use of this freedom. A very well-known case was that of *Fräulein Marie v. Fery-Bognar* who fought in the Austro-Hungarian army as a volunteer, was promoted to the rank of corporal in 1916, and for her valorous deeds was presented by the Emperor Franz Josef with a brooch decorated with his name. The first and only woman who won the Order of Franz Josef in Austria-Hungary was the wife of the district commander of Lublin, Lieutenant v. Turnau. She was

no soldier but through her personal bravery and her heroic deportment in the Carpathians stayed the flight of a receding division and heartened them anew to further combat. There were a considerable number of women in the Austrian army who served as volunteers in the Ukraine. Thus we read of a Fräulein Jarema Kuz in the volunteer-Uhlan squadron of the Ukrainians, whose pale energetic little face reminded people of the early pictures of Napoleon.

Many reports appeared in the Austrian press concerning the Ukrainian volunteer battalion, a peculiarity of which was the presence in their ranks of women who did everything that the men did. According to international law, they were soldiers just like the men. The famous dramatist, Franz Molnar, once had a long conversation with one of these soldiers, Sophie Haletchko, a blonde, girlish and very pretty young student of twenty-four who wore on her breast a medal for bravery and who had already been promoted to the rank of sergeant-major of cavalry. She had been in the field ever since the beginning of the war and, all in all, had been in poor health only nine days. This young girl, who was a native of Lemberg, had studied German and Slavish philology at Graz, and, shortly after the outbreak of the war, had volunteered to serve in the Galician-Ukrainian division. She said she had been unable to remain at home and felt that now everyone would have to go out and do something; hence she had interrupted her studies for the doctorate and sneaked into the army of the Ukrainians where she won signal distinctions. Franz Molnar was especially impressed by the fact that the hands of the girl had remained fine and womanly, that her eyes still had something dreamy and spiritual, and that her glance, despite the fact that she had already been engaged in warfare for more than a year, had not changed like those of the majority of intelligent men who, after only one month of war experiences, get a totally new, peculiar and unrecognizable look.

Furthermore, women were also to be found in the Polish legion which in 1916 fought on the Austrian side. Such a legionnaire was Stanislaw Ordynska who, married very young, had declared that she would not consent to be separated from her husband and went to the battlefield with him. The *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* estimated that there were more than two hundred women serving in the Polish legion of the Austro-Hungarian army. In the *Neuer Pester Journale*, Vilma Balog described a visit to a Hungarian barrack hospital where she was attracted to a very young boy not yet sixteen, thin and very meager, whose face shone lovingly above his

Hungarian uniform. . . . A few minutes after he entered the bathroom a young woman physician came by and announced in great surprise that this young soldier was a girl whose secret had been revealed in the bathroom. This young girl was the daughter of well-to-do parents and had been well educated in Budapest. After her mother's death things went badly for the family and her only joy was the company of her older brother. But when the war came, he was removed from her side and so great was her yearning for him that she decided to follow him. She provided herself with soldier's clothes and succeeded in boarding a military transport. An old and kindly colonel, who did not suspect the truth and admired the pluck of the youngster, helped her to get to the battalion of her brother which was on the firing line and had been exposed to a terrific assault. The poor girl found her brother dead but she remained in the field and took part in a number of battles. Her comrades reported that her bravery, heroism and self-sacrifice inspired and heartened soldiers and officers as well. But the poor youngster became so exhausted by the strain that she had to be bought to the hospital.

There are many similar instances where women sneaked into the army by one subterfuge or another and performed deeds of indubitable and almost incredible valor. About the middle of the war, the activity of women soldiers became a favorite theme for journalists and this theme was varied in innumerable ways. However, as people slowly but surely became tired of the war, not much was made of this theme and one heard less and less of female soldiers who had paid for their bravery or foolhardiness with their life. Not until the Russian revolution had to protect itself against enemies converging upon it from all sides, did the participation of women in man-murdering war become really serious. The women soldiers of the female battalion called into existence by Kerensky took their places in the field and fought for their newly achieved freedom in magnificent disregard of death.

In this historic conflict between two world views the sex of the female soldiers was in no way considered a factor; Russian girl soldiers who fell into the hands of Russian counter-revolutionaries or, after the peace of Brest-Litowsk, into the hands of Austrian or German units that were still camped on Austrian territory, were treated without any quarter at all just like their male colleagues of the Bolshevik ranks. Not long ago some one wrote a communication to the Vienna newspaper, *Der Tag*, revealing the fate of an

unknown Austrian woman who, clothed as an officer, had fought and died near the Piave. The communication follows: "On my return from Italy I met an Italian near Treviso (whose name and address are known to me). In the course of conversation he related the following incident with the request that I publicize it in the newspapers of Vienna. In this way he hoped that it might some day be possible to establish the identity of that unknown woman and to inform her relatives of her demise. The Italian went on to relate that this dead heroine was venerated in all that district and that her grave was always kept fresh and wreathed with flowers by the Italian women of the district. In the cemetery of Falze di Piava in the province of Treviso there is to be found the grave of a woman who participated in the Italian defensive in November, 1918, and who died in the Italian hospital as a result of injuries sustained in this campaign. This woman wore the uniform of an Austrian officer and fought in the first ranks of the Austrians near the Piava. She participated in the conflict with the Arditi Italiani at Isola dei Morti. She was found in a dying condition by the Arditi. A number of the Austrian captive soldiers were brought before her but none of them could identify her. The dead heroine was buried in the cemetery of Falze di Piava and now her grave is marked by a stone which bears the inscription: *'An Unknown Woman who cannot be better identified than with the words, Clothed as an Austrian Officer.'*"

Chapter 7

HOMOSEXUALITY AND TRANSVESTITISM

Notorious Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code—Rôle of the Homosexual in War—Exiled Urnings Return to Germany—Tragedy of the Congenital Invert—Heroic Actions under Fire—Despised by Military Authorities—General Ignorance of Pathologic Abnormality—Comradeship, Pairs of Friends, Officer and Buddy—Other Erotic Friendships—French Tolerance of Sexual Inversion—Is Homosexuality Contagious?—Heterosexuals vs. Homosexuals—Homosexuality Combined with Masochism—Feminine Urning and Transvestities—Two Transvestite Friends—Female Impersonators on the Battlefield

CONCERNING homosexuality during the war-period, especially in Germany where the question aroused considerable attention even before the war, we find enormously valuable information in the reports of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (*Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitee*). This committee was called into life by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld for the protection of homosexuals and as the official organ to agitate for the reform or abolition of the notorious Paragraph 175. The committee attempted to establish the viewpoint, based on undeniable facts, founded on scientific investigations and the experiences of thousands, that homosexuality, the love of persons of their own sex, was neither a crime nor a vice but an emotional tendency deeply rooted in the nature of many human beings. Under the leadership of its founder it continued its activity during the war and in its quarterly reports which appeared under the title *Aus der Kriegszeit* published the only extant material concerning the rôle of homosexuals in the great struggle of the nations. Most of the following cases are derived from this rich source. It will not escape even the most superficial observation that in a war where tremendous masses of men were deprived of every contact with the other sex, that homosexuality would be bound to play an important rôle. Even in peace times this problem made its appearance in connection with the living together of masses of men for months and years during their period of military service. In general it appears that the notions concerning the extent of homosexuality and pseudo-homosexuality (intercourse between men otherwise heterosexual and utilized simply as a substitute for normal sex intercourse) in the army and in the navy, were not a little exaggerated. At any rate the military authorities in those lands where the legal code recognized the concept of unnatural inter-

course were considerably exercised by this problem. This was especially true among the Central Powers, whereas for the majority of the Allied nations the legal prosecution of homoerotic intercourse was unknown. The dark side of this picture as far as the Austrian army was concerned was shown to the world when the espionage activities of the Austrian commandant, Redl, were revealed. This Redl, who was constitutionally homosexual, was at the head of the secret service of the Danube monarchy; and he fell a victim to his homosexual love for the Russian military attaché at Vienna who utilized this fact by employing the infamous device of blackmail known to have been used against many homosexuals. In this way he compelled Redl to sell to the Russians the plans of the Austrian general staff. All this became known later and was held to be responsible—which was probably not true—for the defeat of the Austrian forces during the first months of their Russian campaign. When the Redl affair became a theme for public discussion, one portion of the press brought reports concerning the large dissemination of homosexuality in the K.u.K. army whose corps of officers felt it necessary to protest against what they regarded as an unjust generalization.

The corresponding conditions in the German army were treated by K. F. v. Leexow in his work on *Army and Homosexuality*. In the reports of the Committee referred to above there appears the following interesting statement of a lieutenant with homosexual tendencies:

“It is untrue that homosexuality is very widely spread in the army and navy. Just as in civil life, it constitutes a very small fraction but it is sufficiently important not to be overlooked. Anyone who is blind to these facts in ordinary life will also be unable to see them in the military service. The situation is different, however, for the informed person. He will see urnings in every department of the service, among U-boat crews, fliers, the most feudal cavalry squadrons, the lowliest food transports, etc. I once saw a vigorous artillery man who didn't look to me at all like an urning, but after a short time I got two pictures of him, one dressed as a chauffeur in a military costume and beneath that a little inset showing him dressed in female garb. Whosoever lacks the capacity or knowledge for detecting what is typical to urnings will not see a homosexual even when he is sitting right next to him. That many people have gotten the impression that there were more homosexual officers than urning soldiers is simply due to the fact that as a result of

his superior position the officer was more frequently involved in this type of affair than the common soldier. For my part I have seen as many homosexuals among the soldiers as among the officers. Among the noncommissioned officers there were fewer homosexuals and this class did not attract the urnings at all. The few homosexuals that I did meet in this group were former officers who, after having been discharged, had enlisted as common soldiers and gradually won promotion. I knew only one active homosexual sergeant."

Another soldier has asserted that on the basis of his experience in the garrison and elsewhere the extremely common notion that there were two homosexuals to every hundred men was an exaggeration. Of the one hundred and fifty men in his garrison there was not a single soldier who could be suspected of homosexuality—and these men were recruited from all walks of life. However, this man was ready to admit that his few observations were insignificant by the side of the thousands which Dr. Hirschfeld had investigated. What was more, this man was well aware how difficult it was to designate someone as homosexual without having that person's own confirmation of his state.

At all events, the outbreak of the war produced the remarkable phenomenon that an unusual number of homosexuals streamed into the army and voluntarily joined the ranks. In this group there were a large number whom public opinion on the subject of homoerotic love in Germany in the fear of Paragraph 175 had driven from their fatherland before the war. Of the homosexuals who were members of the committee more than fifty per cent, constituting many hundreds of men, volunteered their services to the army; and of course there were thousands of homosexuals not members of the committee, who were also in this group. They lay in the trenches on the Western front, they fought under the triumphant ensign of Hindenburg and they risked their lives in the navy in the wars against the British empire. From every land they returned to Germany to take up the cause of their fatherland which had not understood their situation and had forced them to leave their native soil. Many homosexuals who had mastered foreign languages succeeded in obtaining false passes from friends in neutral lands and, at great danger, made their way back to Germany.

Like all the mass phenomena of war which cannot be attributed merely to accident, this impatient and impetuous crowding into the army deserves our attention. In the study of Burchard that we have

already referred to, we find the following reasons for this enthusiasm for war which surpassed the normal average reaction in these matters: "According to our experiences and observations, these reasons lie much deeper. It has frequently been shown that homosexuals are less rooted to their family than heterosexuals; that corresponding to their sexual idiosyncrasy—as a sort of equivalent for the reproductive urge which is lacking—there can be noted in a large majority of these cases at least, an increased sense, interest and absorption in the general or social welfare. As a result of a lack in family sense, which is present from the very start and which is aggravated by the external relations which stand in the way of an adequate love satisfaction, many homosexuals show a definite tendency to an unsettled adventurous conduct of life, a fact which explains why so many of them are to be found among sea-faring men, explorers, and vagabonds of all sorts. But this circumstance also enables us to understand why they are moved by such a tremendous passion for war. Furthermore, many of them must have been attracted by the possibility of living for a long time in an exclusively masculine environment which even without any coarse, sensual activity, exercises upon the majority of the homosexuals the satisfying and releasing influence of erotic satisfaction. Suffice it to say, that deep down in the sexual peculiarity of these men can be found the psychological motives for the tremendous rapture with which they greeted the outbreak of the war and which led them to wish to participate in it to a degree in no respect inferior at least to that of heterosexual men."

The report of the Committee calls our attention to an even more illuminating explanation of the war enthusiasm among urnings. "Among the causes which drive homosexuals to war perhaps the most tragic one is that wish or hope, expressed by more than one of their number, that a bullet might put an end to their life which they regard as being a complete failure from the point of view of the present conditions and notions. Driven by this feeling, many an urning officer exposed himself to the thickest rain of bombs and the most deadly attacks. Only recently a flier whom I had congratulated on his distinctions replied that in truth, his disregard of death was nothing more than disgust with life. Many other homosexuals felt exactly the same way. Here, for example, is the letter of a simple bomber:

"Every evening the boys would go out for some girls. This would probably give them a great deal of pleasure. Many times I

was asked why I didn't go along. I was too embarrassed to give any answer and turning away sought to find some task which I could bury myself in. . . . It is my greatest wish to get into the field as soon as possible and to meet an honorable death for otherwise I will be compelled later on to make an end of my rotten life due to my homosexual tendencies for which I am not at all responsible. It is better that my mother should be able to say, 'My Fritz died a heroic death for his fatherland,' than that people should say, 'So! A suicide, eh?' "

These are lines which bring before us the whole tragedy of the constitutional homosexual. We might ask concerning these German homoerotics just what fatherland they did have, and for what freedom were they fighting? Were they not happier under the French or Belgian governments which more than a hundred years earlier had abolished penalties for homosexuality? Very frequently the letters of German urnings expressed the hope that the fatherland would reward them for having participated in the war by rescinding that infamous paragraph which sentenced them to infamy and exile.

At the outbreak of the war there were in Germany a considerable number of former officers who had fallen into the hands of blackmailers or had collided with Paragraph 175. Of course all such people were mercilessly expelled from the army, a practice which was retained even during the war. Among the homosexuals who streamed into the recruiting offices to volunteer their services, there were certainly a large number of former officers who hoped to regain their former military positions. All these men had to file a special request to the throne which in nearly every case was rejected. These unfortunate homosexuals showed the most remarkable perseverance and again and again submitted their applications but the most they accomplished was getting into the army as volunteers without any rank or title; occasionally they became substitute officers, but they could never hope for promotion. Dr. Hirschfeld has reported the following two cases:

A former lieutenant who had been expelled from his regiment a few years before the war after he had fallen into the hands of a blackmailer (due to his homoerotic activity) enlisted immediately after mobilization and submitted three petitions to the crown in rapid succession, all of which were, however, denied. Then the man journeyed to the East Prussian front and succeeded in inducing his former general to restore him. He requested his company chief

to give him always the most dangerous and most difficult tasks; in one of these "jobs" he himself captured twenty-two Russians and had a number of other distinguished exploits to his credit. However, he fell ill and had to be taken to a hospital, but before he was cured he rejoined his regiment. Finally he succeeded in obtaining permission to serve for the remainder of the war as volunteer but without any prospect of promotion afterwards.

The second case concerned young Lieutenant R. who had deserted his ship a few days before the outbreak of the war. Through a cabin window it was observed that he had coitus with a certain sailor. Investigation proved that the young naval officer, who was scarcely more than twenty years old, had performed other offenses of this kind. The young man, hovering between suicide and flight, chose the latter course and made his way to America. But when the war broke out and an overwhelming patriotic enthusiasm came over Germans everywhere, even such as were separated from their fatherland by an ocean, he could not remain away from home. Since he knew Danish, he borrowed the papers of a Dane and got to Europe aboard a Scandinavian vessel. Arriving at a Swedish harbor he hastened to Wilhelmshaven in order to place himself before the military court. After having served the necessary sentence, he took up arms in behalf of Germany. This officer who was examined by Dr. Hirschfeld was finally released because of his innate homosexual tendency, and joined the infantry as a common soldier.

The antipathetic attitude of the military authorities was the more difficult to understand in that these pitiful victims of an antiquated sexual morality were the very ones, who, for the reasons above mentioned, were psychologically best prepared for the war and actually proved this on the field of battle. Even Burchard commented upon the surprising vitality which these individuals showed and which no one would have thought possible in the light of their condition in peace times. Burchard also called attention to the fact that a disproportionately large number of distinctions went to homosexuals. This surprising energy and activity on their part is really amazing when one remembers that their nervous power is generally lower than that of the normal man. Let us quote from a homosexual soldier on this point.

"I am speaking of virile homosexuals in front service. In contrast to their heterosexual comrades they suffer from a number of disabilities. Thus we find among them a large number of so-called

neuropaths, the labile condition of whose nervous system leaves much to be desired in the way of mental health. Furthermore the majority of them are inferior to their heterosexual fellows in physical capacity, which becomes particularly manifest in the first period of drill. I myself experienced during the first weeks of my training what an enormous amount of will-power was necessary to keep me from failing and breaking down. Then, too, there are the spiritual humiliations which are added to the crop of sorrows when one's comrades or superiors observe, or even surmise, one's failing. I need not say that the sensibilities of the normal soldier on this point are none too delicate. In view of these facts it seems to me that for the homosexual to survive the period of training is a greater achievement than in the case of his normal brother."

But despite these intense difficulties, the homosexuals did not fail, with the exception of those of female constitutions, concerning whom we shall have occasion to speak later.

These urnings in the field of battle showed a remarkable complexity of emotion on the one hand—a strongly developed *esprit de corps* and a feeling of comradeship, and on the other a deep pain at the horrors of war to which the finest representatives of every nation were being sacrificed; in addition faithfulness, love and self-sacrificing devotion to the fatherland was combined with a great sorrow that the latter would have nothing to do with those of its sons who happened to be urnings.

We have already mentioned that the homosexual soldiers were very brave warriors. We have now to call attention to the fact that homosexual officers were especially noted for their kindly treatment of the men entrusted to them. Nevertheless the military authorities and the hinterland maintained their antipathy to homosexuals, and, not content with merely eliminating urnings from the army whenever they were detected, they also maintained a very lively propaganda against these unfortunates, evincing a terrifying ignorance of the true nature of the homoerotic constitution. In this propaganda they were abetted by the moral societies who distributed to the soldiers little tracts which branded as *more shameful than anything else that act in which man does that shameful thing to another*.

As against this, those homosexuals who were on the field of battle tried their utmost to build up, in the minds of their comrades, a more reasonable conception concerning their condition. Thus the following communication was sent us by a homosexual

soldier (once an officer) who, at the outbreak of the World War, enlisted as a volunteer and so distinguished himself that he was awarded the Iron Cross:

“I worked very faithfully for the common cause, gave many of our fellows our literature and got them to the point where they were interested in the fact of homosexuality and then answered the questions which their interest would prompt them to ask. I came across some remarkable views and many times I was dismayed at the horrible lies which had been disseminated about us. Stupidity seemed to be celebrating its greatest triumphs in regard to our condition. I am certain that if everyone would do his share in the interests of the whole class of homosexuals and help dispel the legendary lies concerning us, great progress would be made. I will admit, though, that it is somewhat easier for me inasmuch as I can talk wisely, since I have overcome false modesty and become filled with the consciousness of my destiny. Would that all my colleagues could be freed from their oppressive burden through open and valiant combat!”

The comradeship which developed between the soldiers who shared all the trials and dangers of war, this splendid fruit of the war so much praised by Remarque, must have been especially pleasing to the homosexuals for obvious reasons. All phases of the soldier's life favored the development of this comradeship concerning whose ethical value there circulated some excessively flattering notions. Very frequently, even among normal people, it penetrated beyond the outer limits of the homoerotic and was thus, to speak the language of psychoanalysis, characterized by libidinous components. The reports of the Committee emphasized that, to a large extent, the friendships between homosexual soldiers were purely platonic ones. As in the times of heroic antiquity there were, during the World War, pairs of friends who in the heat of battle retained their bond of friendship. There was, however, one conspicuous difference: that while in antiquity these friendships would be boasted of and would indeed be a source of honor—one need only recall how the ancients celebrated the holy band of Thebans which consisted entirely of lovers—in our time the friends kept a secret of their friendship for they knew that if they were to vow their allegiance to the ancient ideal nothing could shield them from petty suspicion and malicious gossip. Yet this love-comradeship which Richard Wagner praised so enthusiastically in his *Art of the*

Future, as an ally in war deriving from the most inviolable and necessary laws of the soul, is in no wise completely extinct.

This was true not only of Germans but also of the English where many pairs of friends fought side by side. In addition it can scarcely be questioned that the same things were true of the French, Russians, Serbians, and Belgians, for no nation has the right to call another by homosexual names of opprobrium as was so frequently done during the war.

Dr. Hirschfeld has distinguished between three forms of intimate comradeship: the consciously erotic; the unconsciously erotic; the unerotic. But these forms are rather difficult to distinguish in their manifestations inasmuch as a strong spirit of belonging together animated all the men, and they realized how much each man depended on the other; also since social or sexual intercourse with women was nearly always absent, some of these male unions are not quite as obtrusive as they would have been at home. The assumption that the consciously erotic form of comradeship was not infrequent is the more justified since there are reports of a not inconsiderable number of such cases between soldiers of the same rank as well as between soldiers and officers. We might quote one example of this type of comradeship: two older comrades who mothered and tended a younger one of about twenty or twenty-one. Between the older ones there was a sort of jealousy as to who would be more pleasing to the younger one. It was almost pathetic to see how concerned they were about their youthful friend and how they endeavored in every possible way to lighten his burdens and assist in his duties. Their relations to the younger one had definite sexual components. Very frequently of a morning one could hear the older ones bickering as to who would be the one to embrace the loved one on that day. The trio made no secret of their feelings but none of their colleagues ever spoke disapprovingly on the subject.

There is one curious fact which we might mention at this point, one which, in view of the well-known tolerance of the French in sexual matters, may not appear surprising to us: the native population of the occupied districts in northern France looked with sympathetic understanding upon such friendships among German soldiers. In many cases such friends could meet at certain French homes.

According to the official standpoint of the German military authorities on this subject, whenever, during the war, cases of homo-

sexual constitution and practice would be discovered, there would have to be military punishment meted out. Reports are unanimous in concluding that such affairs were multiplied during the war. In most cases they concerned officers who were immediately sent home and placed before a military court; whereas non-commissioned officers and common soldiers usually got off with some slight disciplinary penalty like a fortnight's arrest—this owing to the chronic scarcity of cannon fodder in the German army. If the suspected officer was not able to dispel every bit of doubt, he was certain to be discharged, even if the military court found him not guilty. Despite the fact that in the case of many other misdemeanors, officers were dealt with very lightly, homosexuality among them was more severely punished than among non-commissioned officers and ordinary soldiers, in order to maintain strict discipline. It was commonly believed that the homosexual officer did not know how to maintain the proper distance from his subordinates and that therefore his presence in the army might prove to be a source of insubordination. And in truth there was some justification for this, as homosexual officers were generally very popular, but it could not really be ascertained if they maintained worse discipline than other officers.

As far as the judgments of the military court are concerned, when there was no evidence that coitus had taken place but only that the constitution of the officer had expressed itself in kissing and being tender to his subordinates, the penalty was a humiliating prison sentence. One officer who was expelled from service, as a consequence of such an affair, has left us an account of the whole matter:

“During the winter I was wounded near Bakalarzewo and found myself the youngest officer of the regiment of a reserve battalion at O. Despite my very respectable size I was known as *Baby*. One day there came an ensign from the cadet corps, Count L. with whom I immediately fell in love. We had known each other slightly from the corps. He returned my love entirely for he, a blond, blue-eyed fresh youth of eighteen, was also an urning. Soon we became inseparable friends and the major and other older officers rejoiced at the splendid relationship which had grown up between superior and subordinate, for Karl had been placed in our company and had been more or less entrusted to my hands. So I took care of his education and soon he received his sword and with it the permission to live outside the garrison, and to stay out after the

tattoo whenever he wished it. What was more natural, then, than for him to live at my residence. . . . Later on, when they were considering my discharge, they found this fact especially very peculiar and grave. So Karl and I lived together, went into service together, etc. When we didn't go out of an evening, we dismissed the servants and sat for a long time arm in arm, in close embrace, saying many tender and lovely things to each other, spinning golden for the future and building beautiful castles in the air. . . . Sometimes it was very late when we got to bed. To you, doctor, I can confess that we also engaged in sexual activity, but only rarely and in a thoroughly fine, esthetic, but never punishable, form. For two whole months we enjoyed our love happiness together."

One day both of them were surprised in bed by the lieutenant after the attention of the officers had been called to their relationship. The suspicion was confirmed; Karl was sent into the battlefield where he fell a week and a half later, and the writer himself was brought before the military court. Asked whether he had had sexual activity he replied that it was the business of the court to prove that he was guilty and not his business to prove that he was innocent. He was temporarily released and sent to the front on a flying expedition where he was wounded. While in the hospital, the report came to him that because of his *neuropathic constitution* he was discharged. The writer concluded his account with these words: "If I were to say that I was not sorry that I could no longer wear the King's uniform, I would be telling an untruth. After all, I was a soldier. But I am not unhappy, or at any rate, distraught about it. The conviction that he has performed a great sacrifice fills a man with a sort of proud and joyous satisfaction. I will not permit myself to be robbed of the idea that the love of urnings is at least as holy and pure, good and noble as any heterosexual inclination."

It is an interesting question whether homosexuality could be contagious on the battlefield and infect men of normal constitution. Lissmann held that there was no foundation at all for the fear that urnings could transmit their perverse inclination by having a relation with heterosexual men. The best student of this question, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, has stated even more strongly that this fear was utterly groundless. While it is perfectly true that the normally constituted person can occasionally have homosexual relations, it is totally untrue to conclude that in this way they can become homosexual. The relation that they attempt with a homoerotic is in such

cases to be regarded as a form of dissipation. Where there is no homosexual constitution, there is no homosexual seduction. At any rate no one who, before the war, was heterosexual, became a homosexual during the war as was reported occasionally.

As a matter of fact, most of these pseudo-homosexual acts, which took place during the war, were a result of strong alcoholic intoxication. Mendel has reported a case which is an illustration of Hirschfeld's assertion that there are periodic neurasthenics who, in an abnormal state, are more homosexual and in their normal state are more heterosexual and for whom alcohol releases the fairly weak homosexual components by diminishing the inhibitions. The case concerned twenty-four-year-old lieutenant R. N. who was accused of abusing his position. While very drunk he had lured some orderlies into a billiard room and, after putting out the light, had embraced them and made homosexual proposals to them. This man, a former student, had previously been quite heterosexual and had had normal intercourse with women. In his defense, the lieutenant asserted that he was hopelessly drunk and the examination revealed no reason to doubt his contention. In reports there are other examples of pseudo-homosexual actions but without the influence of alcohol and merely as a result of sex hunger. One such case, the account of a homosexual soldier, is published in the report of the Committee. One night when this soldier had finished his watch at the telephone, one of his comrades came over to him and requested that he have sexual intercourse with him. This soldier, a perfectly heterosexual man, had no suspicion that the other was a homosexual. He would have made the same request to any other comrade who was known or friendly to him. Such homosexual acts of heterosexual men were carried out simply *faute de mieux*.

It is very interesting to note how such relations were regarded by heterosexuals. Very frequently in court cases, emphasis was placed upon the horror entertained by normal men of the unnatural practices. But many observers who lived with soldiers and spoke with them on these subjects were unable to discover any trace of that mythical horror of homosexuality.

Lissmann has reported a case where homosexuality was combined with perversion. In a certain field-hospital he met a homosexual clothing fetishist who confessed that he had very frequently masturbated with the uniform of a comrade who was quartered in the same room with him. Professor Hübner has reported an even more complicated case of homosexuality combined with masochism,

coprophagy and color fetishism. This was a soldier who voluntarily took upon himself the dirtiest tasks, did everything to humiliate himself with soot and dirt, masturbated excessively in public and private everywhere and subsequently laid violent hands upon a comrade.

Among the homosexuals there also were very definitely marked urnings of a feminine cast with feminine psyche and habitus. It is easy to understand that this group would fail in the war just as the women with strongly masculine components (the women soldiers we have already considered) succeeded in it. They were just as unfit for war as all other homosexuals among whom Hirschfeld thought there were to be found grave neuro- and psychopathic disturbances as a consequence of the incongruence with their abnormal sexual constitution. Let us give two examples of such all too sensitive urnings whose reception into the army must be counted among the brutalities of war.

R. N. was a very soft-hearted man and it fell to his lot to wound a Cossack. Since there was no pardon forthcoming for the wounded firebrand and murderer, R. N. was ordered by the staff physician to shoot to death the wounded Cossack lying at the feet of R. N.'s horse. In great agony the latter drew back three paces and aimed at the wounded man who looked pitifully at him. R. N. pulled the trigger and shot. The bullet which put an end to the Cossack's life also destroyed R. N.'s mind. For a while R. N. strove valiantly to overcome his bloody memories but they were too much for him. Soon he got crying and screaming spells and very grave hysteria. His pupils no longer reacted to light and he was placed in the ward for nervous diseases. The other case was reported by an English corporal who was wounded on the field of battle. Near him lay a young boy of the North Hampshire regiment over whom a German infantryman was bent. The latter held a water bottle to the lips of the delirious dying boy who kept on crying, "Mother, are you here?" The German seemed to understand, for he softly stroked the feverish brow of the youth with a tenderness that only a woman would be capable of. Death finally came and when the soul of the wounded youth was gone the German soldier was seen trying to hide his tears.

As far as the feminine urnings were concerned, they evinced as strong a disinclination to active service as their more virile associates in homoeroticism displayed a keen relish for it. Corresponding to their feminine constitution they desired to be used only for

the care of the sick. Very interesting in this connection are the self-observations of one homosexual. "My whole soul revolted against all that we know as war. Despite all my diligent investigation, I was unable to discover why I should go to war. . . . My duty did not call me to the service of my state but to the service of humanity in general. Hence I turned to the sanitary corps where I would not have to hate but where I could show and use as much love as I was capable of."

Feminine urnings were therefore to be sought in hospitals, hospital stations, etc., in work which, by the way, was fully as trying and responsible as any other of the war tasks. Immediately at the outbreak of the war, numerous homosexuals volunteered their services to the Red Cross, thus obeying the instinctive calling which, as the history of the homosexual problem informs us, urnings performed even among primitive peoples. In the press there appeared an account of a case which belongs in this connection. It reported that on the West front there was a certain division which contained a man who could knit and who practiced his rather quaint art in every free minute. At the beginning all his fellows laughed and coined the name *Rike* for him (his name was Friedrich, which in the feminine form becomes Friedrike; and the abbreviation of the latter is Rike).

In addition to the category of the homosexuals of female type, there is the group of transvestites. The very serviceable formula of Hirschfeld distinguishes between homosexuality and transvestitism, depending whether the mixture of sex characters (masculine feminism or female virility) extends to the sexual impulse or to other spiritual marks of sex. According to this formula, when we are dealing with male transvestites we are concerned with men who from the point of view of their character are fully to be regarded as women (*vollweiber*), who are moved by an irresistible impulse to act as women, to fill female positions and, above all, to dress as women. It must not be supposed, however, that transvestites are necessarily homosexual. Dr. Hirschfeld saw very many cases in which transvestitic men and women were normally heterosexual.

This erotic impulse to disguise oneself is then the decisive factor in transvestitism. Concerning the serviceability of transvestites in war, Burchard has said they are to be compared with other monstrosities, particularly strongly developed cases of androgyny. Through the anchoring of the physical tendency drive to transformation in the realm of the spiritual, the feeling of utter uselessness,

so far as war service is concerned, comes to even stronger expression in transvestites. Many of them haven't the slightest fear of danger or of extremely difficult and exhausting labor but are constantly oppressed by the feeling of absolute incapacity for a continuous masculine life. Burchard knew transvestites who used to go to the district commander in their female costumes and declare very seriously that they would go into the field as nurses or canteen-women but would never live in the garrison as men among men. In such cases the judgment of the physician, concerning the un-serviceability for war duties, could naturally not be doubted. But, as over against this, Lissmann emphasized that it was by no means certain that any attention was paid to such disabilities as the war dragged on and men became scarcer. What is more, very few military physicians knew enough to recognize this condition. Dr. Kurt Mendel has reported the case of a soldier in whom the transvestitic inclination was so dominant that he preferred to forego sexual intercourse (only homoerotic intercourse was known to this unfortunate creature) than wear men's clothing. Mendel, who, with most sexologists of his time, was of the opinion that homosexuality alone did not render a man unfit for military service, decided in this case that since it combined, on a psychopathic foundation, two aberrations—homosexuality and transvestitism—and that the latter even predominated over the former, the person in question must be pronounced unfit for service. However matters stood otherwise, in those cases where the homoerotic and the transvestitic impulse came to equal expression.

Those transvestites who were accepted for military service, very frequently fell a prey to severe hysterical disturbances so that practically all of them had to be discharged from the army.

Dr. Hirschfeld has reported a case of a transvestite soldier who felt very constricted in his uniform and during his furlough changed clothes with his sister who looked very masculine and very much like him. They wished to exchange places for the sister wanted to continue military service in place of her brother. She was only dissuaded from this action by the physician who warned her of the punishment that would follow such action.

In general not much was heard of the transvestites during the war. In Austria a man in woman's clothing was shot because he abandoned his position. It turned out that he was a transvestite who had fled, driven by the fear that his condition would become known. The most famous case was that worked up by Dr. Mendel,

concerning two transvestites, a twenty-four-year-old salesman and a twenty-six-year-old singer. They had both been in the field for a long time and met at the garrison at Breslau where they entered into intimate sexual relations. In July, 1917, as they were both strolling through the streets in female garb they were arrested. At the request of Dr. Mendel the younger composed a short autobiography:

"I enlisted in the war because life was a burden to me and I wished to find death. After seven months during which time I strove desperately to bear the fearful burdens of war, I found a number of men with like inclinations and even had opportunity to go strolling with a lieutenant, both of us wearing female garb. In addition we arranged several dances at which we danced as women. For years I have endeavored to suppress the desire to wear female clothes but latterly it has become absolutely impossible for me to inhibit this inclination."

The older of these comrades reported that he had brought along with him to the battlefield a female wardrobe in order to be a human being at least for a moment, in which costume he sang in the casino, danced with the officers, etc. One evening he danced with a group of paymasters without any of them realizing that he was not a woman.

This and similar occurrences lead us to see the connection between the well-known doings at the officers' casino and front theaters, where soldiers, disguised as women, always played a large rôle (even if it was not so large as that common among prisoners—to which we shall refer in a later chapter), and transvestitism. This connection is so clear as to render superfluous any further explanation. Let us merely quote this communication from a lieutenant to the Committee:

"After having participated in all the dangers from the very beginning of the war, I finally achieved a rather pleasant post on the staff of our brigade. Recently I had a proof of the incredible naïveté and ignorance of the majority in these matters. Our battalion arranged a party at which the most popular feature was a 'lady in very elaborate costume and blonde wig.' This soldier sang soprano and in all his movements and bearing was thoroughly feminine. Our whole staff was represented at this party and at the table we all discussed the matter. The other men all expressed their admiration for the performer and opined that he must have studied very long in order to be able to imitate a woman so

successfully. I expressed the opinion, however, that the man was acting in accordance with his own nature, that his performance was virtually an expression of his real self and probably brought him intense satisfaction. Neither the general, nor the priest, nor the other gentlemen understood me. I cautiously tried to be a little more explicit but found complete lack of understanding in every gentleman, but most of all in the case of the priest. If this was true of him, how much truer it is of the common soldier."

A very vivid depiction of these matters is to be found in one chapter in a book already mentioned, *Hagen im Weltkrieg*, with which reference we conclude our consideration of homosexuality and transvestitism in the war.

Part Two

Chapter 8

REGULATION OF ARMY BROTHELS

Close Connection Between Military and Prostitution—Prostitution in Medieval and Modern Wars—Assignment of Soldiers to Prostitutes—Regulation of Field Brothels—Public Houses of the Halting Places—Three Classes of Houses-of-Joy—Etapé Brothels—Degrading Line-ups—Rioting in Brothels—The Bethune Bordel—Prostitute Life in Ghent—"For Officers Only"—Lille and its Loose Morality—Brothel Experiences at Havremont—Rules and Regulations for Army Brothels—A Libidinous Customer—Mad Scenes in Officers' Brothels—Modes of Recruiting Women for Brothels—Compulsory Brothel Service—Continuous Supply of Female Flesh—Misery of Common Whores

THE close connection subsisting between the military and the realm of prostitutes is well known from history and has been treated in many works. This problem found detailed and illuminating treatment at the beginning of the World War in a work by Haberling. The World War did not offer any essential novelty in this matter, but it did differ from all previous wars of history in two essential points. First, as a result of national conscription, the majority of the male population of the European nations were torn out of their normal relationships and became potential victims of war prostitution. Secondly, the World War was the first conflict in which trench warfare (what the Germans call *Stellungskrieg*) first achieved outstanding strategic importance and, as a result, changed the conditions under which prostitution could be controlled in the army. Whereas in former military campaigns, especially during the Middle Ages, prostitutes followed the army and actually constituted a portion of the troops, trench warfare, which entailed the sojourning of large military units at the front or at various intermediate stations, require a correspondingly sedentary or fixed form of prostitution. This form could only be found in brothelized prostitution. This had the added advantage of promising some protection against venereal disease and the possible interference with fighting power induced by the latter.

At the beginning of the war, the duration and extent of which was everywhere underestimated, voices were heard demanding sexual abstinence for the troops in the fields in the interest of warfare. Especially did this scientific debate, for and against the prohibition of sexual intercourse for combatant soldiers, rage in Germany. Haberling was the first to demand that soldiers be informed that they would be less subject to venereal infection if they consorted only with prostitutes who had a medical card. The famous sex hygienist, A. Blaschko, who advocated the complete abolition of prostitution at home and in the field, regarded Haberling's proposition as dangerous, because it actually suggested to the soldiers that they have intercourse with professional harlots; and he emphatically denied that the medical card constituted sufficient protection against venereal infection.

Already in November, 1914, numerous voices arose, especially from the side of the physicians who specialized in these matters, demanding the widest possible prohibition of sexual intercourse to soldiers. At a meeting of war physicians held at Lille, Professor Flesch of Frankfurt counselled, among other things, sexual continence as obligatory for the whole field army—soldiers and officers alike—for the duration of the campaign, and the closing of all brothels, taverns, etc., at places where field troops are quartered. It was the opinion of another military physician, Dr. Kurt Mendel, that the best way of preventing venereal disease was by demanding complete continence of those who stood in the field; and he regarded this abstinence as being not impossible in view of the fact that war demanded so many great personal sacrifices which the soldier was always willing to suffer. He believed that the personnel of the army would willingly abstain from consorting with prostitutes when it realized that the matter concerned their personal welfare—that venereally diseased soldiers would be unfit for fighting for many weeks, that, even after recovery from the primary stages of the disease, there might ensue grave consequences which every war has brought in its wake such as tabes and paresis, and that even their own women might become infected. Professors Kuhn and Moeller wrote an article in which they attacked the whole institution of brothels and pointed out that these establishments were dangerous, even though an effort was made to keep sick women out of them through periodic physical examinations. They proved that it was impracticable, even in a town of 15,000 inhabitants, for almost every regiment that stopped there and pat-

ronized the houses of joy suffered a marked increase in venereal infection. As a result even the supervised brothels had to be shut after a short time. Furthermore, these two students pointed out, the whole institution of brothels carried with it a great moral danger. Since the soldiers were assigned to intercourse with prostitutes they actually got the feeling that extra-marital intercourse was quite permissible for married soldiers. For this reason Kuhn and Moeller felt that complete sexual continence should be demanded for the whole period of the war.

In other lands too, the question of prostitution in the army was also discussed, but nowhere with the thoroughness that the Germans manifested in their analysis of the question or in their regulation of the evil. But, despite all the talk, it appeared that, so far as the army was concerned in Germany and elsewhere, the question was decided from the very beginning. In military circles the prohibition of sexual intercourse was not taken seriously, not so much because it contradicted the normal sentiment, as that it ran counter to military tradition. As against all the arguments adduced by scientists, the military authorities insisted that such a prohibition ran counter to the attitude of the soldier.

That is the reason why we find at the beginning of 1915, when the war of invasion had already turned into a protracted trench war, that both sides were well provided with military brothels all along the line of battle. They were first introduced in the West and shortly afterward at all points on the Eastern front. These field brothels, which were found at some slight distance from the line of battle, were housed in abandoned castles, in little village houses which had been more or less spared by the war, in wooden barracks which had been erected for this purpose, or in empty wagons. Usually they lasted only a short while and the personnel did not exceed three. They were patronized by soldiers who were on the line of battle or were returning thence to the second line or reserve.

More important were the public houses at the halting places in the war sector or what the French call *étape*, which were erected for a long period and which, in some cases, had been established and used by the civil population even earlier. This station was not exposed to the direct danger of war and served as a sort of center for all portions of the army who were being sent to the front or who were being brought back after all sorts of abstinences, including sexual ones. It is interesting to note that in these institutions differences of rank were definitely observed. Everywhere there

existed a sharp differentiation between the brothels reserved for officers and those assigned to the common soldiers. As a matter of fact, there were three classes of houses of joy—the highest for the officers, intermediate ones for non-commissioned officers, and the third for common soldiers. On the Western front there were well-appointed *étape* brothels for the troops of the Allied armies at various points behind the firing lines. These houses were always marked by a blue lantern if they served officers, and by a red one if they served common soldiers. The inmates were almost exclusively French women who had either lived here before the war or had come as fugitives from districts occupied by the Germans. The patrons were recruited, aside from those contributed by the French army, from officers and soldiers of the other Allied forces, particularly Englishmen. As a result of the negligence with which the French military physicians treated the whole matter of venereal disease, these French *étape* brothels became veritable breeding places of venereal disease for the English soldiers who had gotten very little instruction in these matters. In his stirring war-book, *Good-bye to All That*, Robert Graves has reported such a case. One night a young Welshman, who shared Graves' tent, came home considerably stewed and amazingly happy. It appeared that the lad, who was the son of rigidly moral parents, had never had any contact with women, and had never been told anything at all about precautionary measures to prevent venereal disease. He had just had intercourse with a prostitute in one of the blue lantern brothels. He told his story with a great deal of gusto and concluded by saying that he had never believed it possible to have so much fun with women. Dismayed and considerably disgusted, Graves asked him whether he had thoroughly washed himself afterwards. Whereupon the poor lad felt quite affronted and replied, "How do you mean that, Captain? Of course I washed my hands and face." Graves showed how all these young men threw off in France the restraint which had weighed upon them in England. They had money and they knew that only a few days more might be allotted them in which to enjoy life and love, and so they had no desire to die chaste. For this reason the station hospitals for venereal diseases were always crowded to capacity. Indeed, the soldiers always had a special joke on this subject at the expense of the numerous field chaplains who were also quartered there for treatment. It may even be said that many a man owed his life to the blue lantern by

virtue of the fact that his experiences in the light of that lantern had rendered him unfit for military service for some period.

On the German side there were military brothels in all the larger cities of the war sector, including Lille, Strasbourg, Brussels, Ghent, etc. In the smaller settlements of the sector, at some distance from the front, there were harlots who plied their trade in their own homes rather than in houses of prostitution. In the cities of the Eastern front, military brothels were erected on the Western models, as we have already stated, particularly in Warsaw and Lodz.

Everywhere the brothels reserved for the use of the common soldiers presented the same ugly and disgusting spectacle of immense queues of men standing in a never-ending contingent before the doors of these houses. These spectacles became a regular characteristic sight during the war. It can scarcely be wondered at that the sexual hunger of the soldiers, returning from the firing line, after a long period of abstinence, expressed itself in rather violent disturbances. Thus, it is reported, that on Good Friday of the year 1915 Australian and New Zealand soldiers rioted in the red-light district of Cairo; and a German counterpart to this was the notorious attack on the brothel in Sedan. As a result of the latter mêlée, military guards were posted before the houses of joy and orders were issued that only ten men be allowed to enter the house at once. But the crowds were so numerous and violent that several times the doors were broken in and other acts of rowdiness took place.

But generally law and order were maintained. Captain Graves has left us an account of the management of the brothel at Béthune. Usually there were about 150 men standing outside the door and one after another was admitted to one of the three inmates for a few minutes. The price there was ten francs or about eight shillings and each woman served practically a whole battalion during the week for as long as she could last, which was generally about three weeks. After this period these poor unfortunates, weak and sick, would retire to private life, sometimes with considerable pride in their achievement. In one of the most devastating war books, *Long Live War* by Bruno Vogel, we may read an explicit account of the feelings, thought and actions of the men as they stood in line in front of these military brothels. This account paints for us, in all its violence and ugliness, the disgusting bestiality of the whole war business. In another war book, Heinrich Wandt has given us a full report of brothel life in Ghent. In this town all the temples of love

were confined to a certain little district and here one could see steady lines of soldiers waiting for hours, just as at home their mothers, sisters, wives or brides would be waiting for some bit of food or some other necessity. Inasmuch as the lines of soldiers grew longer every day the town saw itself compelled to do something to protect the young girls and women on their way to church service from the sight of the lust-inflamed men. And so the city erected wooden fences around three streets where these houses were situated. In addition to protecting the innocence of its womanhood by the measures just described, the city also posted soldiers to guard against possible outbreaks or disturbances. It is interesting to note that these guards were regarded by the daughters of joy as their friends and allies, so that soldiers who endeavored to cheat these painted ladies of the reward of their love never got very far. In answer to the cry of the outraged prostitute, the military police would pursue the culprit and would generally overtake him, even before he had gotten to the limits of the city, whence very slowly, but none the less energetically, they would drag him back to the place of his pleasure where he would be required to pay for his joy in heller and pfennig. The price was generally five marks or an artillery bread; for *specials*, which were designated by the appellation *French*, the price was agreed upon in advance.

Wandt has also left us accounts of brothels for officers and, even if his report is applicable only to Ghent, nevertheless the general scheme described by him was to be found in all the large Belgian and French cities occupied by the Germans. There was a whole row of places in which the officers could surrender themselves to their joys quite freely and merrily. Over the entrance of these places appeared such legends as *For Officers Only*, *For Officers and Civilians*, or *No Admittance for Dogs and Soldiers*. Wandt mentions a crystal palace in Jooden Street and the Hotel de la Cloche which later became a brothel for officers.

In the occupied districts of France, prostitution at the halting stations, or *étapes*, naturally was just as common, but here the civil brothels were permitted to operate for a considerable while after the German occupation. The center of the French sector was Lille, known for its loose morality even during peace times, where once Charles the Bold was met by naked girls after his return from Spalier. After the occupation of Lille, many brothels could be found there as, for example, in the Rue de l'ABC and Frenelet, whose inmates stood under the control of French physicians and

were required to submit to examination three times a week. For a considerable time these civil brothels were patronized by German soldiers without any difference in cost. In Wilhelm Michael's novel, *Infanterist Perhobstler*, there is an account of a brothel experience at Lille. On the Rue de l'ABC three comrades who were out for a good time suddenly heard some girls calling them to come in, and they didn't wait for a second invitation. They found three girls in a room equipped with red furniture. Their hostesses bade them sit and spoke German, but with such a quaint accent, that none of the boys could resist laughing. They gave them wine and asked ten marks for the bottle, whereupon the men refused and sent one of their number to the market. He brought back five flasks at one and one-half marks per bottle. The girls cursed their guests because the sale of wine constituted their profit and it was a pretty low sort of a fellow who would bring his own wine. The girls soon became right warm, however, and found their guests jolly companions. There was some dancing and some preliminary petting of no delicate sort. One of the men, Michael himself, was particularly attracted by a girl with curly hair and a dimpled chin who looked like a model of Renoir. It appeared that she too was very much taken with Michael, especially after an orderly had told her that Michael was an adjutant (as the French call it).

When it became evident that, despite all the energetic sanitary precautions that were being taken, there was no diminution in the number of venereal patients, the houses of joy were militarized and the brothels reserved for the use of officers set apart from those permitted to the common soldier. Hans Otto Henel has given a very vivid description of a visit to such a brothel in his splendid war novel, *Love on Barbed Wire*. One day the announcement came to their company that all non-commissioned officers and soldiers who desired to visit the house of joy located in a castle at Havremont would have to report to a certain official and that the visits would always take place by companies. The thought of women and of removal from danger for a few hours was enough to inflame the dull senses of all men and to enkindle again their blood long grown torpid. During the night preceding the visit to the brothel Henel heard words of such abysmal animality that by comparison Rabelais appears a mild and cooing adolescent. When shame has become superfluous and the spirit has been murdered in the madness of battle, the sexual impulse becomes merely anatomy which does not even become ennobled by passion. It is simply a need for

release. The next morning twenty-five of them, under the leadership of non-commissioned officers, were marched to the half-demolished castle of Havremont, in which the brothel had been established. Before the house there was considerable movement and I estimated that there were about fifty soldiers present.

"How many cows are inside?" asked the sergeant of one of the groups.

"Ten pieces," was the answer.

As they moved up along the line each soldier had to be examined for venereal disease by a sanitary non-commissioned officer, who gave each a tube of preventive salve. Moreover, this official directed the attention of the men about to copulate to a printed announcement relative to intercourse with the prostitutes. Most eyes were particularly caught by point five which dealt with prices. In the brothel for common soldiers the price was two marks ($2\frac{1}{2}$ francs) for the woman and one mark ($1\frac{1}{4}$ francs) for the brothel hostess; in the officers' brothel the price was four marks (five francs) for the woman and two marks ($2\frac{1}{2}$ francs) for the brothel hostess.

The internal ministration of the houses of joy was not influenced by the army of occupation, aside from the fact that the hostess or leader of the brothel was either appointed by the commander or recognized as chief of her establishment. Apart from that, the control of the army of occupation was confined to matters of a hygienic nature which was carried out by German police physicians. In this way the unfortunate girls could be exploited by the brothel mothers in the most shameless way and on this point we have authentic information concerning the administration of the military brothel at Mitau. Our information (published in *Kulturwille* for 1929) was provided by a soldier who for three weeks was assigned to service at the Mitau brothel during July, 1917. In truth there was very little temptation for him or his associates in this assignment, inasmuch as the first soldier who would be admitted into the brothel at its opening at four o'clock in the afternoon might be venereally diseased, thus infecting the girl and all the men who would lie with this girl after him. For this reason the military authorities erected near every brothel a little hut where a sanitary official was quartered who had to examine every soldier that desired admission to the brothel. Of course, officers were exempt from this necessity, which may be one factor in explanation of the inordinately large number of venereally diseased officers. Every soldier had to show the sanitary official his book, containing his name



A TYPICAL ARMY BROTHEL ON THE AUSTRIAN FRONT

and his official designation, all of which information would be forwarded to his division in order that they might be able to check up should any venereal disease develop. Every soldier also had to show the sanitary official his genitals, which were examined for venereal disease, and had to submit to treatment with protargol and vaseline. Thus armed, the soldier went into the brothel; and upon his return he had to stop off at the sanitary official again, to urinate in the latter's presence, after which he got another protargol injection. In addition he had to state which girl he had used. The sanitary orderly assigned to this duty certainly did not have an easy job of it.

The Mitau soldier, who is our authority for this point, said that the military organization of sex intercourse afforded him the possibility of getting at figures relative to the number of visits to these brothels. He had a genuinely scientific desire to ascertain what the facts were in this connection. As a result of his experiences, during his few weeks as supervisor of the military brothel of Mitau, he was able to say that the woman who had had the most visits was a prostitute, named Osol, who on one day between the hours of four and nine, the regular business hours of the brothel, had had thirty-two soldiers. Naturally, and fortunately, this did not happen every day, but the lowest achievement during his stay was on a day when the six girls entertained only twelve, ten, ten, ten, seven and six apiece. This same soldier has also preserved for us some very amusing incidents which took place while he was connected with the Mitau brothel. One day a reserve officer dropped in from the front and entreated him tearfully to let him have access to a girl immediately inasmuch as his train would leave long before four o'clock—in return for which favor he was ready to pay a considerable amount. At other times soldiers connected with the commissary department would bring large boxes of sausages and meats in order to be permitted to remain in the brothel beyond the time allotted. This job of orderly was the most unpleasant part of the whole performance.

At nine o'clock every evening all the rooms had to be thoroughly inspected, for very frequently men tried to hide under the beds against the wall in the hope of being permitted to remain all night. These slippery customers had to be pricked with bayonets. In addition, attempts were occasionally made to enter the brothel at night. To do this entailed climbing over a fence. The guard posted around the brothel was instructed to shoot at such cus-

tomers. Our Mitau friend related that, during the whole war, he fired just one shot and this took place while he was on sentry duty at that brothel. Early one afternoon a commissary officer came to the brothel bringing loads of whisky, despite the fact that he was already drunk. Towards evening two non-commissioned officers of his battalion called for him saying that all the soldiers of his group were waiting for their supper and that he had the key to the supplies, but this lascivious fellow would not leave. At nine o'clock he was chased from the brothel with the but-end of the sentry's rifle. At eleven o'clock he was seen trying to climb the fence and when he saw the sentries aiming at him he was sober enough to call out that if they would let him in he would reward them with a large basket of delicatessen; however, the sentries did their duty and fired. Fortunately for this libidinous customer, the wound was very slight. Many another man was more fortunate than he for, by maintaining friendly relations with the brothel mother appointed by the military authorities, they were admitted into the brothel at night through the rear entrance. Very frequently the sentries would be awakened by noise in the brothel and run in to investigate. On such occasions they would see a whole ring of men whom they were otherwise taught to regard as their superiors, reeling with wine.

In the officers' brothel also, mad scenes would frequently be enacted. Many times the soldiers would be able to observe their officers beaten by brothel girls, spat upon by them, and hurled from their doors. Our Mitau friend again is our authority for such an incident. One evening he and a group of soldiers peeped in through a window of a superior brothel where a wild party was going on. At the piano sat an officer beating out a dance to which melody half a dozen officers, clad in uniform, were crawling about in a circle on all fours. And on the shoulders of every one of these officers sat a naked girl who, with slaps and punches, incited her partner to faster motion, a partner who was no longer chevalier, but *cheval*.

Very frequently it was observed that when officers went to the brothels, they went in large groups which was a token of the fact that they regarded the visits to these institutions as social pleasures.

As has already been indicated, the internal administration of the brothel was not interfered with by the military authorities. Thus it came about that the difference in rank between officers and soldiers also came to expression in the difference in the mode of life of

various groups of prostitutes. This differentiation was certainly not less than that subsisting between the various groups of whores who were members of Duke Alba's army. Whereas the inmates of the officers' brothel, in general, lived well because they received large supplies of food from their clients, the common prostitute had a very hard time of it. The rates fixed for them by the military authorities were very frequently paid in kind, usually in artillery bread, and were, on the average, very low. In many districts, especially in the Eastern sector, the misery of the prostitutes was appalling. Whereas the officers' prostitutes received between twenty to a hundred marks, her common sister got no more than between two and five. On the other hand, the same girl had to pay to the brothel mother twenty marks daily for food, and inasmuch as they were prohibited from leaving the house, they had to pay to the brothel mother whatever she overcharged them for clothes. Moreover, it was impossible for them to earn anything else, inasmuch as at ten o'clock they would have to go to sleep whether hungry or satisfied, and whether they had enough for a morsel on the morrow or not. At that hour the brothels were effectively closed by the military authorities and the barbed wire fence, three or four meters high, prevented any departure from the premises. In the officers' brothels everything was very free. Very frequently officers' automobiles would call for the girls and drive them away to some sumptuous castle or tavern where they would spend the evening in feasting and pleasure. On such occasions the women would not be brought back to the brothels until morning. Not infrequently, as a result of their experiences on the nights of joy, they returned so infected with venereal disease that they soon had to go to the hospital especially provided for venereally diseased prostitutes.

Just as little as the Germans and the military authorities of the Allied powers worried about the administration of brothels, so did the Austrian authorities who concentrated their energies upon the hygienic measures which they instituted in the regions occupied by them. Thus in all the brothels in the Serbian front the following notice was posted in three languages—German, Hungarian and Croatian:

1. Every girl is required to reject a diseased guest.
2. Drunken and very boisterous guests are not to be taken up to the room by the girl.

3. The girl should demand of the guest that he use a preventive instrument and if he refuses she is obliged to lubricate his organ with borated vaseline.
4. Preservatives are available at the price of . . .
5. After intercourse every girl is required to show her guest to the disinfectant room.
6. Whoever practices coitus despite the fact that he knows or can assume that he is venereally diseased is guilty of a criminal act punishable by imprisonment.
7. The best protection against infection is the use of a condom which is to be drawn carefully over the member and then sufficiently lubricated with borated vaseline. However, if no condom is available, the member should at least be thoroughly greased with vaseline. Such grease capsules are in the possession of the girls.
8. After coitus, the member should immediately be washed thoroughly with warm water and soap after which the guest should go to the disinfectant room, the entrance to which is always marked by a red lamp. The attention of the soldier is called to the fact that it is his bounden duty to report to that room and that a neglect of this provision is punishable.
9. Moreover, prophylaxis is advised for the other visitors to the brothels.

One question remains to be answered. In view of the fact that the supply of prostitutes was never equal to the demand for them, and that as a result of their tremendous exertion and the venereal diseases to which they shortly fell a prey, they could only exercise their function for a little while. From what source were they recruited? Naturally the first place in the ranks of these prostitutes was occupied by those women who had practiced this calling before. But, in addition, there was a growing number of women, who driven by the chronic misery of the occupied districts, had to sell their bodies. Of the latter class the majority at first engaged in clandestine prostitution, but were subsequently compelled to offer themselves in the public military brothels. In all the cities of the sector occupied by the Germans there was a very comprehensive and diligent *moral investigation* which was designed to insure to the brothels their needed supply of female flesh. Our Mitau authority has informed us that in those districts the order was issued that every woman who desired to engage in professional

immorality would have to do so in brothels. Naturally it was very easy to traduce girls and women on this basis and many a secret agent collaborated in this nefarious activity. If one of these secret agents cast his eye upon a girl and she happened to refuse his advances, he would immediately denounce her to the military authorities as one who practiced professional immorality. Nearly always this poor girl was immediately put under military control, and it was not very long before she found herself in a military brothel, no matter how untrue and wicked the accusation might have been.

This system of supplying military brothels seems to have been more characteristic on the Eastern front, whereas in the West there was a slightly different method of supplying brothels. There women who were caught practicing immorality were arrested for six weeks during which period they were transferred to military brothels. Of course, great efforts were made to control the spread of venereal diseases derived from these prostitutes. Every luetic soldier would immediately be asked whence he had derived his disease and the woman was sought out to be punished for it. In the occupied districts of France, those women who practiced clandestine prostitution were arrested by the military police and brought before a police physician. If they were found healthy, the physician demanded that they voluntarily place themselves under German control. There was no point in assigning these women to brothels, inasmuch as in Lille and in other places the practice of prostitution, despite control by the *moral police*, was carried on even outside of public houses.

It is clear that in general (particularly in the districts occupied by Austria) the way was prepared for an abuse of this sanitary precaution of controlling the origin of disease. Every soldier was able to designate any woman at all as the source of his venereal infection. Dr. Anton Blumenfeld, chief physician of Fraustadt, admitted that it was very difficult to ascertain the exact focus of infection. Many soldiers in answer to the query replied, *Private* or *Decent girl*, etc., in cases where they had been accosted on the street and had cohabited with the women in a hotel.

Among the troops of the Allies the situation was different to the extent that generally their troops had to deal with a friendly population and the police regulations did not have to be so rigidly observed. As a result there was a large increase in the number of venereal diseases as indicated by such accounts as that of the young

Welsh officer referred to above, as well as by the tremendous spread of syphilis in the French army concerning which we have also spoken.

There can be no doubt at all that the system of prostitution organized by the military authorities constitutes one of the darker chapters of the World War. Through it the erotic realm was stripped of every human feeling and degraded to a bestial need of the basest sort. But as long as there will be wars there can be no escape from such erotic degradations. War prostitution, as we have sketched it above, is a most disgusting compromise between militarism and sex hunger, the regulation and rationing out of a most primeval human instinct, namely, love. We can scarcely overestimate the moral consequences of this institution of the war and its attendant phenomena. This much is certain: that the sexual life of a soldier with its concentration in the field and station brothel contributed immeasurably to loosen the bands of the bourgeois family and to diminish its importance.

Many wives and husbands believed that when the man would be torn out of the circle of his family, the purity of marital love, accounted as sacred by the church and society, would readily be maintained amid all the terrific storms of the war and preserved for the coming reign of peace. But was it possible for the man to return home in the same way as he had left after he had held in his arms upon a lurid bed warmed and befouled by masses of men, a pitiful victim of war prostitution? Not even enthusiastic friends of war would maintain this. The forms in which extra-marital intercourse lived itself out in the battlefield and in the station en route to the front, the forms in which the common man had to live out his sexuality in the few occasions when it was at all possible to do so, were more inhuman than any previous condition of a like order that venal whoredom had ever before assumed throughout the whole course of human history. Many millions of human lives were lost amid the cannons' thunder during the war; but its monstrosities, among which war prostitution certainly does not occupy the lowest place, destroyed men's faith in the moral values of a society which had brought about the war.

Chapter 9

PROSTITUTION BEHIND THE LINES

“Wild Marriages” of Army of Occupation—Prostitution in Belgium—The Mad Chase after the Male—Warning Posters—Child Prostitution—German “Vice Squad”—Macedonia “House of all Nations”—Gypsy Quarters of Prostitution—Exploiting of Wife and Daughter by Husband—Poverty and Prostitution—Institution of Field Brides—Love for an Artillery Bread—Child “Panderers and Pimps”—Reception of Officers by Women in Conquered Towns—“Sign” Negotiations—Estaminets, Dispensers of Good Cheer—The Largest “Woman Market” of Ghent—The “Coffee Shop” Deception—Prostitute Victims not on Casualty Lists

BROTHELIZED prostitution, which we have analyzed in the previous chapter, constituted an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the military authorities to place under sanitary control the sexual relations of their soldiers. This attempt was unsuccessful because the number of brothel inmates near the battlefields and behind the lines, or the halting stations as they were sometimes called, was not sufficient to meet the enormous demands.

As far as the occupied districts in the west were concerned, Lille can be regarded as the chief seat of prostitution. In the course of their lengthy occupation, many of the soldiers quartered at Lille entered into a sort of field-marriage or *wild* marriage with the women of Lille. Many of the female inhabitants maintained, over a period of many years, intimate relations with German soldiers. These relations led to the well-known result—the constant struggle of the German military leaders against venereal disease seemed doomed to failure. These women, among whom were many belonging to the better classes, disseminated their diseases in large numbers and became the chief focus for its spread. Despite the sharp separation of the city of Lille from the nearby Roubaix and Tourcoing, there were numerous cases in which frivolous women came to Lille to have sexual relations. These abuses could only be handled when, as a result of continuous and urgent requests by German physicians, the military police of Lille exercised a sharp watch over all hotels, *estaminets* (a word of French derivation borrowed from Spain and designating a cabaret which provides harlots), inns, secret quarters, boarding houses, rooms for hire, etc. Those women who were caught having sexual relations in these places were immediately brought before the military physician, as were also those women who were accused by various soldiers as having been the source of their infection. On the basis of the

military physician's examination, the military police either assigned the woman to control by the military authorities or to the hospital. The reader who is interested in the elaborate system of regulations and precautions by which sexual relations were guarded at Lille is referred to the interesting book by Dr. Herms, entitled *Lille vergewaltigt?*

The same condition was true of other cities, as, for example, Douai. This city had a very large number of estaminets and a large number of frivolous women for whom many of the sex hungry German soldiers were very fortunate windfalls. It was interesting to note how elderly French women fairly threw themselves upon the necks of the very young Germans. As a result there was a veritable epidemic of gonorrhoea. The worst of the estaminets, those in which microscopic examination had revealed that everyone was diseased, were dissolved. It was determined somewhat later to erect new *puffs* under German control. Every day the women were examined, but withal venereal diseases flourished.

Conditions in Belgium were not much different. In this connection it is interesting to observe how German soldiers reacted at the beginning of the occupation to the very derogatory reports concerning sex conditions in Belgium. In the diary of a fallen soldier named Franz Schmiedt, which was found by Allied troops and used by them in the interests of their anti-German propaganda, there occur the following remarkable lines: "The whole city that we occupied is empty and destroyed. The houses that haven't been burnt down are vacant. All the inhabitants have fled save a few women who have remained behind. Prostitution is extremely common. Brother and sister live as man and wife, and, in addition, women go in for all kinds of prostitution."

From an essay by Alex von Frankenburg, entitled *Brussels as Love Station*, we learn that the love life of Brussels bore abundant fruit as a consequence of the Code Napoléon under which it probably still lived. That city boasted a famous pimp and bully called Macro, one of the leading dancers at the Gaiety, for whom many women sold their bodies to Germans. And no wonder, for the lower classes in the city were very miserable. Begging on the streets continually increased. This explains why prostitution grew so enormously. Aside from the numerous cocottes of an earlier day, of whom the better class had fled to London or Paris, the great majority of these *femmes entretenues* were girls whose cavaliers had gone into service or skipped, so that the poor creatures,

unable to earn a penny, saw themselves compelled to sell their bodies to the hated Germans. Thus the bars, cinemas, cafés, etc., were overrun by girls; and by noon the merry chase after the man was on, only in a more discreet way than among the Germans. But after the closing of the cafés at eleven o'clock, a great stream of girls poured out into the streets and accosted soldiers and civilians alike with the greatest freedom. The sanitary control of the Belgium authorities, which at the start was loose enough, soon broke down completely so that in the Belgian capital the alleged number of 150 girls were under police supervision.

All sorts of prophylactic measures were adopted here more for the soldiers, who were tarrying there for a brief while, than for those garrisoned there. Warnings and actual instructions, both orally and through the distribution and conspicuous placing of posters as well as free distribution of prophylactic devices at sanitary headquarters and free injections were also administered. At this center they had, in addition, a very large stock of *Viro* which was also distributed free. Inasmuch as the soldiers who had refused to submit to these treatments were punished, the number of diseased soldiers was rather small. The first thing that German soldiers saw when they arrived at Brussels was a large sign warning them against the hazards to health common in that town and urging them to consult the sanitary orderlies who were posted at these halting-stations.

Furthermore, Brussels saw some activity of a social-hygienic sort which was headed by the Red Cross. The women who belonged to this organization had to visit questionable taverns, uncover dives and to take under their protection corrupt children of evil parents.

Like Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent and Lüttich were known as breeding places of prostitution even before the war. Naturally conditions grew very much worse during the war when masses of soldiers overran the towns, their bodies bursting with lusts accumulated over months, and their purses bulging with the pay they had accumulated in the trenches. Frequently these soldiers would pay between twenty to fifty marks for a night.

However, the most horrible aspect of this whole affair was the prostitution of children. One could observe little girls of twelve and fourteen garishly painted despite their rags, accosting soldiers and saying, "*Monsieur, pour une livre de pain?*" For a pound of sugar mothers offered their children, emphasizing their virginity;

and little boys and girls of eight would tug at the soldier's coat-tails to drag him to their sister, while making the symbolic gesture of sexual intercourse (the thumb between two fingers, while repeating a monosyllabic vulgarism).

Conditions in the country were somewhat more humane for here the soldier might actually take the place of the paterfamilias who was fighting at the front or had perhaps died in battle. In this way the soldier who had entered into intimate relations with some woman of the household might literally grow to be regarded as the *vader van't huis*; and the children who sprang from this union are even today called *duitschmaneke*.

As far as the middle class is concerned, German officers were welcomed in many distinguished Belgian homes and found considerable *éclat* among Belgian girls and women. Indeed there is even a story of a duel fought by two temperamental Flemish women over a German lover. A case is known where one girl called her rival by the honorific epithet of *German whore* and had to answer to the court for it; despite the fact that she was able to establish the truth of her accusation, she was sentenced to pay a considerable sum of money in view of the fact that her own linen was considerably soiled.

As we have already mentioned, sex relations assumed the most friendly aspect in Flanders where the inhabitants of the occupied areas were more or less sympathetic to the German troops. At least it was asserted that the two groups, descended from a common stock, understood each other. (One need only remember the activist movement in Flanders, and the Flemish university and the German-Flemish societies at Düsseldorf and Berlin.) It was a matter of proven fact that numerous tender love relations blossomed forth between Flemish girls and German soldiers, particularly between ladies of good society and German officers. But these relationships must not be overestimated inasmuch as in nearly every case the women were driven to this by their desperate circumstances; and hence their amorous relations with the German soldiers must be regarded as being virtually a gesture of desperation whereby an unfortunate woman sold her body to keep herself and her family from dying of hunger.

Wandt has revealed to us, without any trace of romanticism, the connection between the misery induced by the war and the clandestine prostitution that raged in Belgium. Ghent, which for more than four years was the most important center of operations,

offered the richest material for the study of the limitless misery which the madness of war had brought upon millions of women and girls. More than four-fifths of the occasional prostitutes whom the police had under their control were married women and mothers of from three to eight children. Their husbands gone either to the front or captivity, or dead, they were driven into the arms of the enemy soldiers, not by any pleasure in vice but by the cry of their children for bread. As for the unmarried occasional prostitutes, they were recruited almost exclusively from jobless servants, factory girls and seamstresses. The more factories and business establishments were shut down in Ghent, the greater the number of unemployed grew, the more did the mass of occasional prostitutes increase. Into the place of the unemployed husband or father now stepped the mother or daughter, or both, who supported the family by selling their bodies.

The same situation was found on the Eastern front. Viktor Jungfer has reported that there were a large number of unmarried women in the town they occupied, whose misery was intense. No wonder then that they sought to establish relationships with whatever troops were occupying the town. They washed the soldiers' linen and darned their socks, receiving in return victuals. The number of women who added to the above list of tasks the sale of their love was continually on the increase. Moreover, young country girls were at this time attracted to the city where an easier and less toil-ridden life seemed to wait for them. This sort of prostitution was regarded by the soldiers as being something so natural that they regarded it as quite *de rigueur* to use every opportunity so offered. As a result very few of the married men remained faithful to their wives and those who did had to suffer the mockery of their comrades. In many cases the men quite forgot that they had a wife and children at home and even neglected them for long intervals so that the company commanders would receive the most pitiful letters from the forgotten wives inquiring if their husbands were still alive.

In central and southern Poland, the women and girls of the working class, and to some extent of the middle class as well, participated in vast numbers in prostitution of the lowest sort. Lodz and Lowicz were breeding places of this evil. The summer of 1915 is assumed to have been the beginning of the epidemic of venereal diseases which assumed tremendous proportions later on. Nor did Warsaw, after its capture, remain behind the industrial

centers just mentioned. As one arrived at the depot there, one ran a veritable gauntlet of prostitutes. And even smaller places like Ostrow or Wolkowiesk offered numerous invitations to venal love which constituted grave dangers to the health of the army. In northern Poland this type of prostitution decreased, but other varieties flourished instead. But it must never be forgotten that, especially in the early days of the occupation, it was hunger that produced these conditions. That these extremely hazardous phenomena of venal love later decreased in scope or intensity was not attributable to any improvement in morals but to the rigid efforts and control put forth by the German authorities. It was only then that a true picture could really be obtained of the widespread ramifications of prostitution.

But as a result of intercourse with unsupervised *private* women, venereal diseases assumed terrifying proportions along the Eastern front. This may be gathered from a whole series of measures issued against luetic women who had intercourse with soldiers. On June 22, 1915, the German authorities issued an edict governing that portion of Poland left of the Weichsel, warning all women that a prison sentence of between two months and a whole year would be imposed on any one who, knowing that she had a venereal disease, would, despite this fact, cohabit with soldiers.

The remarkable thing about this ordinance was that the awareness that one had a venereal disease was sufficient to expose one to punishment and that the infection of the woman's visitor was not even necessary. Naturally it was a very difficult matter to prove that these women were aware of their condition. An improvement over the original formulation of this ordinance was the subsequent provision that in the future there would be no need for an accusation to be filed by an infected man, but that the military authorities themselves could and would bring suit. A similar decree was issued in the division of Gaede in Alsace during the spring of 1916 by the terms of which men and women who had extra-marital intercourse, although they knew or could assume that they were venereally diseased, were punishable by a year's imprisonment, or in milder circumstances, by arrest or by fine up to 1500 marks.

As far as the individual cities of the eastern sector are concerned, we learn that in Lemburg conditions were very bad, especially after the invasion of the Russians, for the incidence of venereal diseases among these troops was terrifically high. Ever since 1848, when the Russian army had brought it thither, there had been a



A FRENCH CARTOON REPRESENTING THE POPULARITY OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS
IN PARIS

veritable epidemic of lues in Galicia which had remained active even at the outbreak of the war. Thus in 1913 there were ten thousand venereal patients in the Galician hospitals, and the total number of the unhospitalized sufferers from these ailments was estimated at over a quarter of a million at least. We have already mentioned that in 1916, 1340 women were brought to the hospitals by the police as against one hundred in peace times. In Lodz and Warsaw the German authorities had to install a vice-squad and institute bi-weekly examinations. Of the 145 women who were to be found in the Alexanderspital at Lodz in June, 1915, no less than 113 were venereally diseased prostitutes. In Warsaw at the end of 1917, 557 out of 1011 prostitutes were infected.

It is well known that in Wilna a military post had to be stationed before the soldiers' home to keep the strumpets away, for they would continually be annoying and seducing the soldiers. There were an extraordinary number of these creatures in Wilna and

most of them were infected as a result of the horribly unsanitary conditions which had existed during the Russian period. Even those that were not yet diseased and had to present themselves for examination twice every week, were by no means without danger to the soldier, for in between examinations they could become infected and wreak their havoc.

The same conditions obtained on the Southern line of battle with the possible exception of Serbia where the native women regarded the invaders with unconcealed hatred.

Concerning Pirizrin in Macedonia, we learn that in the midst of the city there was a large hotel. The proprietor of this institution was very hospitable to the officers of the Austro-Hungarian army who had come hither from Northern Albania to recuperate, and among the other comforts he provided, women were also included. The host would ask the guest of what nationality the lady was to be and as soon as he got his answer he went out in search of the desired woman. In a few moments he would return from his hunt in the city with whatever sort of lady had been requested. Most of these purchasable females had lived in the vicinity before the war and among them there were a few French women.

When officers would parade through the streets of this town they would be surrounded by street gamins who would call out, *Ima zena* and if the officers followed these youngsters they would come to a house where they would be received in the utmost secrecy by a little old Turkish woman. The little old *mother* would lead them into a room, set some black coffee before them and summon the two or three Turkish girls who were the professional inmates of the little house. The officers of the monarchy would invariably be pleased by one thing: that these girls would be clean shaven from head to foot.

In the town of Uskub, the sight most worth seeing was the gypsy quarter with its squalid lime huts. In the evening a fire would be burning in front of each of these houses and crouching around it the gypsy women. Whenever a soldier passed, the girls, who were all between fourteen and sixteen, arose and began to dance with obtrusive ambulations of the hips in order to draw attention to their physical charms. Somehow the latter would conclude his transaction with the gypsies and soon found himself within the hut. Before the love act itself the soldiers were treated to another dance spectacle purveyed by four absolutely naked girls. It was notorious that all the gypsy girls were, without

exception, luetic; and many of the German soldiers must have become infected by them.

Concerning clandestine prostitution in that portion of Macedonia which was occupied by the Bulgarians, we have considerable information from the pen of Dr. B. Beron of Sofia. According to the testimony of the physicians who had lived there ever since the Turkish times, prostitution was regulated under the regime of the Turks and Serbs. Under the Serbian government prostitution was very widespread; whereas under the Turks the city possessed fifteen brothels whose number gradually diminished so that at the time the Bulgarian occupation there were only two which soon had to quit their activity. However, aside from the brothels, there remained numerous houses and inns which served the cause of prostitution in one way or another. The number of whores could not be determined therefore but it was estimated that they ran into several hundred. It is quite certain that their number was considerable, what with the low moral condition of the Serbs and the economic distress. After the Bulgarian occupation there were no brothels, but all sorts of private houses, hotels, cafes, etc. In addition the whole gypsy quarter served as a haven of venal love. In Skopie there were numerous coffee houses which were actually brothels. These coffee houses and saloons generally consisted of one room which was furnished like a little tavern, but overhead, on the first floor, there were a few rooms occupied by several prostitutes, generally not more than three. These women sought their clients among the patrons of the floor below for which they paid their host a certain percentage. In all of these quarters one could find Bulgarian and German soldiers. It need not be said that all the houses of the gypsies were dens of vice. Generally the man did not work and lived off the prostitution of his wife and daughters. When men visitors would come he not only remained home without any shame or discomfort, but would actually lead the men customers into the chamber of his wife or daughters. It was an old established custom of the gypsy women to prostitute themselves for their families and they found nothing shameful at all in it.

The numerous instances that we have cited are sufficient to give us a very clear picture concerning the true nature of prostitution in the war sector. They show us without any question of doubt that the enormous spread of private prostitution in the various areas of operation as well as in the halting-stations were attributed even by the participants in the war themselves as due to economic

necessity. Concerning the tremendous influence of the economic motif in driving myriads of women to sell their bodies, not even the most touching love stories from Flanders or Galicia can delude us. It is true that the institution of *field brides* was known everywhere, but only a tiny percentage of these relationships can be attributed to true feelings of love. In the vast majority of cases, these relationships were entered into by the woman because she was driven by the indescribable misery and suffering that reigned in the occupied area. Neither Belgium nor Northern France, and least of all, the Eastern sector, were able to maintain their production after the occupation, certainly not enough to meet the vast number of new consumers, especially since many of the domestic workers had fled. As a matter of fact, even in peace times Belgium was dependent on imports of foodstuffs. Hence there is nothing strange in the fact that in all the reports concerning amorous relationships between members of the army of occupation and native women, insofar as these reports are not disguised in false sentimentality and decked out to establish the internationalism of love, the economic question stands at the very center. The reports of an hour of love, given in return for an artillery bread, are absolutely unvarnished truth; all else is, in the majority of cases, mere decoration. There is ample ground for the concluding quatrain of a song that was very popular among Flemish prostitutes:

*Wir sind von flam'schen Blut,
die Deutschen f— gut;
für ein Kommissbrot und einen Franc,
f—wir stundenlang.*

The same thing holds true of Northern France and, it may surprise us to learn, also in those portions of the area of occupation which were not occupied by Germans. Here, too, the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* tore over all the fertile fields stamping out all life; and here, too, necessity drove the French women, who had been robbed of their husbands, to sell their bodies. Graves has informed us in his novel how in the French province he and his comrades were greeted by a whole group of youngsters, all of whom, tugging at the officers' coats, begged them to come to their sisters who were pretty and cheap. The same conditions were true on both sides. Henel, for example, has left us some very typical pictures of how officers of the Austrian and German army were received in Galicia. And when our well-known Perhobstler finally

got to the Eastern battlefield in Vossa in the Carpathian mountains he reported that the town was full of women, and girls who looked like women because they all had children. For a few cigarettes one could sleep with a woman or a girl. The negotiations were carried on by signs as it was impossible to talk with them, all the girls being Ruthenians. These women lived like widows. They never received letters from their husbands since the latter couldn't write and they couldn't read. No men were ever permitted to return home to Vossa for furlough, for on several previous occasions it had been found impossible to recover them.

There is no need to bring any further instances to establish this point. We have done enough to prevent our making any fallacious conclusions concerning the true nature of the love relationship in the war sector between the soldiers and the women of the native population. Let us leave to a cheap and dizzy dabbling in emotion all the gush about love which is stronger than national differences. The love episodes of the halting-station have nothing to do with this faith, creditable as it may be in itself. In these cases it was always a question of bare prostitution due to elementary necessity and only in rare cases was it a question of sex hunger which drove a certain number of temperamental women to let themselves in for an amorous escapade with whatever men were at hand—which happened to be the troops of the army of occupation. Those cases in which there was any question at all of truly humane attraction were exceedingly few.

Clandestine prostitution was increased by the institution of civil workers' battalions to which we shall return in the following chapter. The women of Belgium and Northern France who were drafted for compulsory work were exposed to the advances of the soldiers. We may assume that in addition to being compelled to work twelve hours a day, a great many of these women were also forced into prostitution—but there is no proof of this matter. However, a note of the French government, concerning the drafting of their women into these compulsory work battalions, complained that at night the women were exposed to the advances of German soldiers and that the girls were quartered with men whereby immorality naturally had to be rife. Perhobstler has described one experience with a girl from such a work battalion.

But the largest contribution of these compulsory work battalions to the spread of prostitution lay in the fact that the supporter of the family was dragged away for this enforced labor and that,

therefore, the mother who remained home alone and the daughter, who was unprepared for any sort of work, had no other way of helping themselves than by prostitution. The German soldiers used to wonder concerning the tremendous masses of women and girls who offered themselves as prostitutes, but they never considered with what systematic cruelty these unfortunates had been handed over to shame by militarism; and that these pitiable creatures, whom the long war had robbed of every possibility of earning a penny, had literally no choice if they did not choose to die of hunger.

From the foregoing account it is clear that the real breeding place of prostitution in the West was the notorious *estaminet*. The vast number of these institutions is also attributable to the economic misery by which the native population, in the absence of normal production, sought to make ends meet by catering to the soldiers who were still comparatively able to buy things. This was true on both sides, the only difference being that the *estaminets* in the allied territory enjoyed more freedom. Of course one danger always hovered over the heads of all these taverns, namely, that of closure by the authorities. It is clear that the hostesses of these establishments could not live merely from the sale of their products and that, therefore, they had to practice prostitution with the majority of their clientele. Inasmuch as the young men, who had formerly been the most frequent and most welcome guests at these establishments were now gone to the wars, and inasmuch as the elder natives who remained behind were virtually penniless, the German troops were now the best customers. But the common German soldier who came in from the field and had already been separated for too long a time from his mamma was not content with a large pint of beer or a warm pot of coffee, but wanted something warmer for his heart and spirit. These soldiers honored the *estaminets* with their presence primarily because they wanted a hearty hostess or a pretty daughter to present them with their food and drink. With these friendly females at their side or on their lap they felt very much better. In the village of Aisné near Ghent there was one *estaminet* which was always full to overflowing. The proprietor had seven daughters of whom the youngest, though only fourteen, was not far behind her six sisters in coquetry. The German soldiers always felt very comfortable in the homelike atmosphere of this simple, low-ceilinged, smoke-filled room, and called this *estaminet* by the picturesque and telling name of *At the*

Fourteen Checks. This tavern was undoubtedly the most popular one in the whole Ghent sector.

Early in 1916 most of these establishments received their death blow. The chief of the German staff at Thielt issued a decree prohibiting all German soldiers from visiting Belgian inns and estaminets and threatening all Belgian hosts, who sold food and drink to German soldiers, with immediate closure of the business and considerable punishment, including a money fine as well as imprisonment. By this order ten thousand Flemish saloons and estaminets were closed. The sign *Prohibited to German Soldiers* that was set on their establishments robbed these folk of their only source of income and caused their ruin. Only a few establishments, whose owners, generally females, or daughters had intimate relationships with the police officials of the district, were exempt from the general prohibition and set apart from the others by a special sign which read, *Only for German Soldiers*. The prohibition seems the less comprehensible to us inasmuch as it was introduced a year and a half after the German soldiers had been in Flanders and were already at home everywhere. Its purpose was said to have been the prevention of espionage; but the effect that it actually had was to rob the Germans of the friendship of the numerous estaminet owners and turn these ruined people into bitter enemies of their despoilers. Even if the soldiers who were toying with the wives and daughters of the innkeepers would have wished to impart military secrets, they were unable to do so because of the utter darkness in which they were kept by the Ludendorff system of lies. Indeed any Belgian cocotte in whose lap a German officer had played, knew more about the purposes of the German military campaign than any battalion leader in the trenches. Another motive for the shutting down of the estaminets was to eliminate one of the breeding places of venereal diseases, but in this case also it was a fight against windmills. The wives and daughters of these tavern keepers, who until the shutting down of their little business had prostituted themselves occasionally, now had to devote themselves entirely to prostitution in order to keep themselves and their family. So they walked the streets and sex intercourse would take place somewhere in the open where there would be no opportunity for immediate disinfection. In this way the opposite effect was achieved. The statistics of the military surgeons in the halting-stations showed clearly that the high figures of venereal diseases

which the soldiers had got in Flanders did not diminish after the estaminets were shut down, but rather increased tremendously.

One of the estaminets in Ghent which was permitted to continue its business after 1916 was the Cafe Leonidas. Wandt has characterized this place as the openest woman market in Ghent. It belonged to a Greek who had given it its exotic name. Inasmuch as it was situated in the cellar it was scarcely visible from the street. As one entered one found oneself in a large and luxuriously appointed hall where there were all sorts of delicacies for those officers who were able to pay and all sorts of beverages, from real German beer to the prohibited absinthe, and above all, women. The most beautiful and most expensive strumpets of the whole city made daily rendezvous at this place which was preferred by the officers of the station. The commander of the district had become a little bit disturbed by the undisguised love traffic carried on here, and so, to demonstrate the extent of his morality, he ordered that in the future men and women should sit separately there. However, not very much was gained for morality in this way, for as soon as an officer had selected a girl, he sent her a little note by the aid of a cunning young page and nothing would stand in the way of the copulation aside from an engagement about the price. If they wished they would not even have to go out of the building, for the house, in the cellar of which the Leonidas Cafe was situated, was appointed in its upper stories as a *maison de rendezvous*.

On the Eastern front, tea-houses took the place of the estaminets, but they provided the same attractions. Many soldiers have asserted that these establishments reminded them of Japanese tea-houses. Here, too, the military officials endeavored to limit the number of these amorous establishments, but without avail, for once the vice had developed it continued in the form of clandestine prostitution. The longer the war lasted and the more acute the economic distress became, the more it developed upon women and girls to earn something, and there was only one form of earning possible to them. Girls prostituted themselves for a whole day for a piece of bread. One sister taught another to engage in this nefarious occupation. Mothers of children were driven, by the most painful necessity, to besmirch themselves. Women who were freezing gave their bodies over to passion for clothes and shoes. Washerwomen earned so little that they had to give their bodies for a piece of soap.

Here and there these inns possibly owed their existence to other

causes. Thus there is a story extant concerning the general staff of one division who had a number of pretty girls sent them from home. These they set up at a little town about an hour's distance from their scene of operation and supported by common contribution. In order to give a name to this place, they fitted up a little coffee shop for these girls so as to preclude any evil construction of the whole affair. Hither the officers came to recuperate after a day's work, but a number of lieutenants and ensigns who were fighting at the front got wind of this and were able to arrange matters in such a way that they very frequently were entrusted with official business to the division commander. On such occasions they never failed to make a little excursion to the fair coffee purveyors who did not find their unofficial guests at all unpleasant, not to speak of the fact that this brought them additional income. This secret was carefully guarded and to this very day the original *entrepreneurs* do not know that cuckoo's eggs were laid in their nest. We recall that it was Heine who said that lieutenants and ensigns are the cleverest fellows.

To sum up: It was not those occasional humane relationships which grew up between the conquered and the oppressed population of the occupied territories, between the liberators and the women of the allied states, it was not tender war idylls that we can regard as the creation of war. No. Rather is it misery, hunger and prostitution which we must regard as the inevitable and ineluctable harvest. The hundreds of thousands of women in the halting-stations who earned daily bread for themselves and their family by the sale of their bodies were certainly, in the vast majority of instances, not *born prostitutes*—a theory which bourgeois society has invented in its own defense. They were prostituted by the greatest pander in the world, namely—war, and they were ruined in body and soul. Their names are not found on any casualty list and yet they are not the least lamentable victims of the war.

Chapter 10

LUST IN THE CONQUERED AREAS

The Halting-Station Swine vs. the Battlefront Swine—Women of the Occupied Areas and Their Conquerors—Belgium Under German Occupation—The Land of Espionage—Its Underground Press—Conquest: A sexual Stimulant—Brutalities Against Conquered Population—Notorious Civil Work Battalions—Deportation of Young Girls—Other Brutalities—Patronizing "Home Industry"—Competition Between German and Belgium Prostitutes—Halting-Station Girls—Sexual Envy of Common Soldiers—Officers' "Mattresses"—Female Auxiliaries of Austrian Army—Trieste, the Perfect Slave Market—Daughters for Sale—Female Competition for Officers—Cruelties in Women's Hospitals—The Infamous Hospital at Lousberg—Compulsory Hospitalization—The Yellow Pass-Cards—The "Whore-Ledger"—Tribadism of Sex-Starved Women—A Hospital Hell—Erotic Episodes in the Halting-Stations

THE *étape* or halting-station was the true breeding place of war prostitution, war immorality and venereal diseases. In the hinterland, Belgium, Northern France, the occupied portions of Serbia, Montenegro and the Eastern sector were regarded as veritable Babylons. Fantastic and exaggerated stories were circulated concerning the potency of the officers assigned to duty behind the lines. In these tales, of course, sexual envy played a considerable rôle. Whereas both at the front and back at home there raged the most extreme misery, which naturally included an agonizing sex hunger, the *étape* or halting-station, the area behind the actual scene of operations, was regarded as a blessed land. The fortunate inhabitants of this district, that is, those who bore epaulettes or gold-embroidered collars, were not only removed from all economic worries, but were even provided with unlimited opportunity for sexual indulgence. The view came to be held that there was a fundamental difference between the common soldier who did his duty honorably, filled up the trenches and frequently left his corpse there, and the fortunate individuals who could lead their riotous lives in the district behind the battle area. But this notion leaves out of consideration the fact that it was only a matter of luck and influence what post one occupied, whether one exposed one's life to danger or was able to enjoy a most irresponsible life behind the lines. There was no qualitative distinction between the "stallion behind the lines" and the "swine on the battle-front." The transition from one category to the other was not impossible, and one's character was formed in accordance with the circumstances one had to live under. Many popular songs were current among the

soldiers which gave poignant expression to the difference between the two forms of life, the luxurious sex-drenched life of the officers and the miserable dog's existence of the common soldier. We all remember the song so popular among the American soldiers—if one wanted to find generals one would have to go to Paris for them.

Just what did the officers do in these stations far removed from the battle area? Viktor Jungfer has left us very explicit information on this score in his novel, *Das Gesicht der Etappe*. When the officers were through with their very easy duties they turned to all sorts of pleasures—drink, games of various sorts, women of course, and general good fellowship. These men lost all sense of obligation and, what is more, they became completely estranged from home and thoughts of their domestic life. Similarly Professor Baumgarten has expressed the opinion that the enforced idleness in the halting-station and the comfortable life led to sexual excesses.

Belgium was the land in which this type of life brought forth its most poisonous fruits. For four years Belgium lived, literally, behind barbed wire, for all along the Dutch border there were barbed wire fences carrying a high electrical current to prevent desertions of Belgians who were fit for military service. In general, the administration of Belgium by the German military occupants was a masterpiece of German military organization and the resistance which this incarcerated people offered to the oppression of their enemies, constitutes a fantastically heroic episode of the twentieth century. But, despite the barbed wire and other difficulties, many men succeeded in escaping from Belgium; and even at the time of the Armistice in 1918, five hundred thousand Belgians, most of them men, were said to have been outside their country. Now this scarcity of men, comparable to that of Northern France, had very drastic consequences in the sexual relations of the female population of Belgium which had never been famous for a too prudish sexual morality.

The people were very hostile to the Germans, especially in the Walloon district. In no other land and at no other time in history was espionage by women so widespread. The hatred toward the German invaders was fanned by a secret underground press, the story of which constitutes one of the most thrilling chapters of the World War. The most famous of these secret newspapers, the *Libre Belgique*, began to appear in February, 1915, and continued to the end of the war. It sounds almost incredible that in a land occupied by a tremendous army and guarded with remarkable

diligence and intensity, where the majority of the population had to report for inspection at least once a week, where personal freedom was thoroughly suppressed, that, despite all these hindrances, this rabidly anti-German paper should continue to appear for four full years. Every number of this sheet was filed in the office of the German authorities. Every word which appeared in this paper, and in the others, which soon emulated its example, constituted high treason punishable by death. Many readers of these papers were arrested and placed in concentration camps and a few of the contributors were even laid hold of. But, despite the most furious oppression, the Germans failed to silence the underground press.

It can scarcely be denied, therefore, that the story circulated in Germany, concerning the love-relations between German soldiers and women of a population whose hatred of Germans was for many years nourished in the way just indicated, was to a large extent fiction. The relations that did exist were between officers and Belgian women who were either members of the Belgian secret service or prostitutes or such women as had been forced into prostitution by the ever-increasing pressure of economic distress.

This is not the place to write the history of the Belgian occupation. However, we might mention in passing a few of the horrible acts committed by the Germans in connection with this unhappy episode of their national history. So great was their fear of espionage that they resorted to ridiculous antics. What can one say, for instance, of the German order prohibiting Belgians from crossing a field in zigzag fashion under pain of being shot to death? And indeed this was no idle threat. On September 9, 1917, a certain Wolff Dementi defended himself against the charge that the Governor-General of Belgium led a regiment of terror. "Since May first of that year," this worthy averred, "only nineteen Belgians had been executed." It is well known also that the Austrian army was guilty of such bloody excesses. Thus in June, 1917, when some question was raised in Parliament concerning the mass executions in Galicia, a certain representative named Heine called out, "Far too few have as yet been hanged in Galicia"; and at that time the number of the totally innocent victims of this sort of military justice ran into the thousands. Finally Dr. Albert H. Fried has preserved for us an opinion of Frank Wedekind who said that the Germans would never be able to leave Belgium lest the world get to know of all the atrocities they had perpetrated there.

It is not our concern here to seek the cause for these atrocities in

any peculiarity of the German mentality. Perhaps such conditions are the necessary consequences of every military occupation and hence the infinite sufferings of the Belgian people were the inevitable outcome of war. But an awareness of what Belgium suffered at the hands of the Germans leads us to have more than a little doubt concerning the truth of reports relative to the tender relations subsisting between the Germans and Belgian women.

There seems to be good reason for supposing that the consciousness of being conquerors acted as a mighty sexual stimulant upon the Germans who were occupying Belgium during the World War. Not only was the sexual drive of these men increased so that in periods when there was a lull in the battle it came to abundant expression, but there was also an increase in the feeling of mastery and superiority which expressed itself in various brutalities against the civil population. Thus we read of a certain lieutenant in Ghent who, because of some slight discourtesy, would first thrash the unfortunate native who had fallen into his hands and then compel him to stand face to the wall and wait while further punishment would be determined for him.

Perhaps the most shocking institution that was invented during the occupation in Belgium was the creation of the notorious civil work battalions. To this sad episode in the history of the Belgian occupation, we shall devote a very brief consideration. This move was initiated by the Germans because of the blockade and the resultant economic crisis and the subsequent starvation in the occupied Belgian districts. But whatever the real reasons, these measures which were also used in Northern France, aroused universal horror and were soon played up by the allied propaganda as one of the inextinguishable disgraces of German warfare.

How was this army of workers formed? Search patrols of German soldiers were sent out to examine every house and to select as many members of each household as could be put to work, instructing the drafted ones to appear at a certain place and time with necessary supplies, principally eating utensils. All persons capable of work were eligible for this military campaign, provided that they were not younger than fourteen nor older than fifty-five. Women who had children younger than fourteen were not supposed to be removed from their family.

We have a most moving account of one of these episodes that took place in Lille:

“On the night of Good Friday the troops came to our district. It

was terrible. The officer passed slowly by and designated certain persons of both sexes whom he ordered to report in a few minutes—in no case more than an hour—at a certain place. Anton D. and his sister, twenty-two years old, were led away. A younger sister, not yet fourteen, was hardly spared. A grandmother, sick with terror and pain, had to be given the sacrament. In another case, neither a reverend old man nor two crippled people were able to prevent the removal of their daughters who were their only support. During this torture the German beasts went through all sorts of merry pranks. Thus, in the case of a certain lady, they asked which of her two girls she would rather keep. When the mother replied that she would rather the older one stayed, she was informed that that was just the one they were going to take away. . . . The unfortunate ones were rounded up and then marched through the town to the depot to be taken God only knows where.”

The professors of Lille protested against the deportation of young girls and women and accused the German officers of definite sadistic tendencies. German officers drank champagne while poor women were dragged into exile before their eyes. In some cases, women were transported in cattle-cars and were housed in miserable hovels with straw sacks for beds. Later on, at their camps, they were exposed to the offensive attention of soldiers and officers and very frequently at night they had to run for refuge in their night-shirt and bare feet. The agricultural labors that were assigned to them were uncommonly hard. And all of them, without regard to education, profession or rank, had to undergo examination by the military police which was carried out with excessive brutality.

In the life of the halting-station officer, a more important rôle than that of the women of the native population was played by those women who were of their own nationality and had to come thither to perform various subordinate services. This institution of auxiliary service rendered by women was known in all lands. As early as 1914 France had various female operatives, principally auto-drivers. In Germany also they became even more important because, by their activity, they were able to release huge numbers of men for actual service in the war. We have considerable data concerning the life of these auxiliary operatives. The novel already referred to above, *Gesicht der Etappe*, tells us that the prostitutes of that particular district lost trade rapidly because of the fact that the German soldiers were going with German girls who were serving

as auxiliaries and were, so to speak, patronizing home industries. Indeed it was not even necessary for the men to go to the women since the latter freely came to them—a practice which was obviously impossible for the native prostitutes. There was very strong competition indeed between the native women and the female help that had come down from home. Of course the aim of the whole struggle was to snatch for oneself the officer whose pockets were bulging with marks and in this struggle there was also an undertone of national feeling and even of moral sentiment as well. Thus, the Belgian woman would hold her nose over the German auxiliary personnel whom they called *Mitrailleuses* and concerning whose morality they had a very low opinion indeed. The German girl, on the other hand, thought of the whole Belgian people, which had been conquered, as an inferior race. Incidentally, it might be remarked that the reputation of these female operatives was just as bad at home as it was in the halting-station itself. Their relationships with the officers were usually of an ephemeral sort; however, with the non-commissioned ones they occasionally had more lasting relations and some of these ended in marriage. Aside from such rare cases the life of a girl in the station was little different from that of a prostitute. In the novel *Halting-Station Girl*, by Martha Babbillotte, we find the following statements regarding the social stratification within this class of women in France:

“The married women who had their husbands with them withdrew entirely into the circle of domestic tenderness permitted them by the state, not without demonstrating a certain measure of disrespect for the other types. After these came those women who had a steady relationship with one man. These were the most decent relatively. Every evening they went to their gentlemen or were visited by them, and the jealousy of these gentry guarded the morality of these girls more strictly than all the rules of ethics and religion. These relationships usually ended with an official betrothal and even marriage though the latter came long after the unofficial one had been entered into.

“For the rest there were those girls, far too many of them, alas! who were the actual prey of life in this milieu. Admittedly there were some girls of good family among them, but, especially among the newer ones, there were very many questionable females who had gone through the high school of life in Lille or Brussels. For them any man who wore epaulettes was immediately acceptable.

These girls had all sorts of relations in return for which they got food and clothes.

"It is true that at every inspection careful note was taken of the activities of every one of the station girls but no matter what penalty she was threatened with, she made light of it because she knew that her services were far too valuable to be dispensed with for any moral consideration. It was virtually impossible to bring these women to a better point of view so filled were they with frivolity. It was they who created the evil reputation of the station girl which traveled back home to Germany and was thereafter applied to every girl who tarried there. This, of course, was not entirely just. In every city there are girls who live in the same way but they are accepted as a matter of course and, besides, in the great city they do not stand out. Moreover, no one has time to bother about them. But here in the sector they had a distinguished position and every one of their movements was followed by thousands of eyes glaring with envy and hatred. These were the women who made the soldiers at the front so bitter, when, exhausted from their ordeal in the trenches, they returned for a bit of rest and recreation. It was they who led the French woman to form her derogatory opinion of the German girl."

As a matter of fact, it was one of the most horrible conditions of the war-stations that the officers resident there could indulge every sex appetite whereas the common soldier who tarried there for a brief while, on the way to or from the battlefield, would be able to snatch some erotic pleasure only in the repulsive forms we have already considered. The bitterness of these men was well expressed by Perhobstler when he said, "We were 'battle-front swine' and we became well aware of that fact when we came to the station-city. We were placed in worse quarters than anybody who lived in the city and were regarded with most unfriendly eyes by the dandified officers who strutted about in brand new uniforms. Our soldiers, and even officers, were dusty and dirty; and no one of the station soldiers would even greet us properly. The girls were nearly all in the firm possession of the regular 'station stallions' and any station soldier was more attractive to them than a battle-front soldier. Thus in many things indeed, we became outsiders to normal civil life and many of us bore the burden and the shame of this even after the war."

Again and again this feeling came to clear expression in the sexual envy of all men who had to tarry in the station for a little

while. In the diary of one soldier we read that one day, when he and a number of his associates were in the movies, several ladies of the auxiliary service came in with a few officers and immediately the whole gallery hissed out the words "Officers' mattresses."

Essentially the same conditions were true of the Austrian army. A certain lieutenant, Püssl, expressed the opinion that the institution of female help at the front was devised by the chiefs of staff in order to afford pleasure to the officers during the long years of war. Most of the girls made no secret of their illegitimate relationships, and practically all of them, office help, nurses and what-not, had one or more admirers which was quite natural and pardonable. Indeed, what young man to whom an opportunity was not only offered but upon whom it was almost forced, would not take advantage of it and celebrate the joys of Priapus!

The question of female help in the Austrian army has been treated in an essay by S. Weyr which has the advantage of not neglecting the social side of the problem. The year 1916 had ended gloomily for the Austrian army. The catastrophe of Luck, the adventure of Asiago with its tremendous loss of men, and of the battles of the Isonzo had decimated the Austrian forces which were already using their reserves. In 1917 this material was depleted and all other materials began to run out. It was necessary to find substitutes and supplies. The forty-four-year-olds and the seventeen-year-olds were now called to the colors; the bread rations were reduced to 140 grams, coffee-cards were introduced, door knobs were confiscated, napkins and tablecloths were commandeered. But the gravest need was for men. At this time Major Schubert suggested the idea of a female military service which would take the place of the older men in the military offices and thereby release that much fighting power. Unfortunately the exact figures on this subject are lacking, since at the end of the war all these records were purloined by the notorious Gömbös, now one of the leaders of the Hungarian Fascists, but at that time a member of the general staff. However, it is known that there were between 95,000 and 100,000 women engaged in this auxiliary service work. At that time the condition of the population at home was horrible. There was no food and no coal; all the places of amusement were shut down, and through every street of Vienna there stalked the grim specters of poverty and misery. When a proclamation was issued at the end of January, 1917, calling for female volunteers, it aroused tremendous enthusiasm. To be sure, ever since the

beginning of the war, women had been employed in some of the military offices and, what is more, the Red Cross nurses had already offered themselves for service, for which they had won a somewhat questionable reputation. But there had not yet been any opportunity for masses of women to enter military service. The institution of the official female military functionary was something new. Many women applied for this work because, first, they were assured of good food and, secondly, of a considerable amount of money, between a hundred and a hundred and sixty kronen a month. In addition, many women were impelled by a conscious or unconscious desire for adventure and a yearning for a vague romanticism.

What was the destiny of these female auxiliaries of the Austrian army? They were sent out from Vienna to various places where the war raged, including Trieste, Lemberg, Lublin, Belgrade or Bucharest. For the most part nobody worried whether they arrived at their destination or not. When and if they did arrive, they had to ask their way about until they got to the office of the general staff where, after a superficial investigation of their capacities and training, they would be assigned to a certain job. In Trieste, there was a perfect slave market for female auxiliaries. The latter would all congregate in a large room where, seated on benches with their baggage at their feet, they would wait for hours until a gentleman who needed female help would come and select the woman who attracted him the most. Every man who came here knew that the creature he took along with him was hopelessly in his power—a condition of responsibility which transcends the capacities of most men. In many cases the female auxiliaries were assigned to military superiors who exploited their subordinate positions in a sexual way. There were a few honorable officers who were different, but it was a very rare individual who would see anything but a female vessel in the woman that was put under his command. The chief reason for the complete helplessness of the female auxiliaries was due to the material dependence of the girl on the officer who, with one stroke of the pen, could drive her back into the starving city whence she had come. Also there was the whole psychological situation of those women: a few girls among many men, all strangers, and home and family life destroyed (here all gentlemen are cavaliers and one consorts with officers, whereas at home one would very likely have to be on a much lower level). Young girls were brought into extremely difficult situations which even women of strong characters would not be equal to. If men of fine stamina

were suddenly overcome, after they had gotten into their officer's uniform, by megalomaniac ideas of the most absurd sort and, in the wake of this military ideology, lost all reason, judgment and character, is it surprising that young, inexperienced girls did not stand the strain any better?

In the course of the year 1917, there gradually grew up a unique form of sexual relationship between the female auxiliaries and the officers, a form that had not been known since the days of the Thirty Years' War. The position of these female auxiliaries, in the midst of thousands of sex-crazed men, resulted in remarkable forms of relationships. At the end of 1917 it was common for officers who were serving at the front, instead of going home on furlough, to journey to one of the larger sector stations where there were greater opportunities for erotic indulgence than even in the legendary Budapest. This phenomenon could be observed in all the armies as the war wore on. Thus for the Western front, Brussels became a sort of Capua, where the native prostitutes offered very different attractions from any purveyed by the starving, smaller cities of Germany.

As a result, enormous numbers of these women and girls fell a prey to venereal disease. It was difficult to subject them to periodic medical examination even when there was a responsible commandant. Furthermore, many of these girls had no idea of the true nature of venereal diseases. When such a girl unfortunately got syphilis she would not be looked upon by her associates in vice as one who had been overtaken by ill fortune, but was treated by them as a criminal. Her colleagues would curse, beat her, and run her out. If the girl fell into the hands of the military sanitary authorities, she was driven into the venereal hospital at the point of a bayonet. If she succeeded in avoiding this fate, she was shunned by all as one afflicted with a plague. In her misery and lonesomeness she became an ordinary prostitute.

In the year 1918, the few male divisions which had been released for military service by the female auxiliaries had long been mouldering in their graves. The latter institution had proved itself to be useless, and in many classes of the population there was an intense antipathy to it. Moreover, the best women and girls were no longer willing to expose themselves to the evil reputation of this activity. For this reason, female inspectors were appointed by the war ministry, but even they accomplished nothing at all inasmuch as practically all these inspectors were women of the aristocracy who

didn't have the slightest trace of social emotion. When these inspectors discovered venereal disease among the female auxiliaries, they would immediately deprive the unfortunate sufferers of their jobs, thus removing their economic security and driving them to starvation and degradation. However, these inspectors would say nothing about the officers responsible for the girl's infection. Another index of the heartlessness of these aristocratic supervisors was seen in the rule that if a girl would, for any reason, be unable to work for two months, she would lose her post.

In general, the authorities felt that this systematic prostitution of the female auxiliaries was not a serious matter, inasmuch as many of these ladies had been immoral before they came to the service. This conception is characteristic of the war ideology which sought to extenuate the criminality of war by antedating many of its crimes to an earlier period. Exner has called attention to the fact that when regulated prostitution decreased in Vienna during the war it was, characteristically, attributed by the police to the departure of a considerable number of women to the stations. Nothing was easier than to attribute the immorality of the sector girl to her own lack of moral resistance.

No one, however, can question that life in the halting-station cost the vast majority of these women their health, and that they constituted a large proportion of the venereally diseased. In his grandiose drama of war entitled, *The Last Days of Humanity*, Karl Krauss has left us a remarkable picture of these victims of the war, victims who will rise up to accuse us to the end of time.

Between the native women, driven by their misery, to sell their bodies and the station girls who were completely dependent economically, the life of the officer assigned to this Cockayne duty was spent pleasantly with few cares. There was continuous competition for the price of his pleasure, between the women of the land which served as the scene of his activity and those girls who were rendering auxiliary service in the army. Both groups, however, were continually exposed to the danger of venereal infection which would deprive them of their livelihood and place them in the women's hospitals.

At this point we must say something about these characteristic institutions of the station. The hospitals for women (the soldiers called them "Machine Repair Shops") were established wherever there were troops—in Belgium and France on the Western front, and later on the Eastern front also. From the military and hygienic

point of view, there is, of course, nothing to be said against these institutions. But the manner in which they were administered made them one of the horrors of war. To these institutions were driven all women who had fallen into the hands of the German vice-squad. All had to be examined, healthy women as well as diseased.

As far as the Eastern sector was concerned, directly after the Germans entered Riga, to take one example, such a hospital was established, and at least a quarter of the people, who were required to submit to the examination by the military surgeons, were admitted to the hospital. The patients were given sewing, or various chores in the house or in the field. Some made underwear and socks from materials that had been left by the Russians. A similar institution was started in Warsaw directly after the German occupation. By March, 1916, 2543 patients had been treated.

The same conditions existed in Northern France. In Lille, there were four such hospitals where treatment was administered by French physicians under German supervision. The ultimate authority was in the hands of the German police physician who alone could decide whether, from the medical point of view, a prostitute should be admitted or discharged. Clandestine prostitutes who were brought to the hospital for the second time were compelled to go under control.

At Lousberg, in the district of Ghent, there was a famous hospital for prostitutes. In June, 1917, it suffered a nocturnal air attack, during which the 800 patients broke away. It was only with great difficulty that they were brought back. Wandt is our authority for the statement that between 800 and 1500 women, some of them with children, were hospitalized at Lousberg annually. They were required to sew sand sacks for use in the trenches; in return they were paid ten pennies a day.

This institution was one of the atrocities of the war, comparable to the destruction of the Cathedral at Rheims or of the library of Louvain, but worse since it wrought its hellish work in human souls. Into this institution, established to cure women suffering from venereal diseases, to prevent them from transmitting their infections to German soldiers, there were driven not only such women as were beyond further corruption, but also such as had merely incurred suspicion. During the four years of German occupation, thousands of women saw Lousberg who had no business there at all. Yet these innocent women had to submit to the same treatment as the vilest and most diseased. Whether they were

simple, decent working girls or women from the higher walks of life, once the gates of Lousberg had shut behind them, they were treated as outcasts of society. They had to sleep together in large halls and listen to the foul bawdiness of former brothel inmates. The latter did not hesitate to revenge themselves upon their more respectable sisters for all the past criticism they had endured from respectable women. Every day all the inmates had to mount the gynecological chair to expose their private parts to the glance and touch of the physicians and the numerous subordinate personnel. What frightful havoc was wrought to the delicate sensibilities of fine women in this institution! Many, upon their discharge, received undeservedly the yellow pass-card which required them to remain forever under the supervision of the police physicians; and many carried with them a stigma which they had to bear for the rest of their life and which, when their husbands returned from the front, was responsible for more than a few bourgeois tragedies. The careless denunciation of a malicious neighbor, the hatred of a rejected lover, the pleasant titillation afforded some disdained German officer by the exercise of his power, were frequently the means whereby a thoroughly irreproachable woman was driven into the jaws of the Moloch Lousberg. And even those women who were discharged at the end of four weeks because they were free from disease, or because there was no proof of the illicit intercourse, even these women were singed by the poisonous vapors which issued from the foulness of this hospital. The popular idiom was not long in changing the name of this institution into *Luesburg*. Anyone whose name had been brought into connection with this institution had a stigma to bear for the rest of her life.

Just what went on in these hospitals for women in the enemy territory? Full information on this subject can be gotten in the novel *French Women Without Sex* by Eugen Ortner, a unique work which contains, in an impressionistic style, the diary of a German soldier (apparently identical with the author) who knows a great deal concerning these matters because he was assigned as a supervisor to one of these hospitals. This house was situated in one of the towns of the French sector, probably La Valle. It was organized at the end of 1914 and tended by a volunteer medical personnel; after 1915 it came under military supervision at which time the house was completely shut off from the outside world by fences, trellises and shutters. Regular medical examinations were introduced. Two German soldiers led the regiment, while a third

assigned to the women various necessary chores, such as sweeping, washing, chopping wood, etc. The inmates did all the work in the institution, three of the inmates, who were gonorrhoeal, cooking for the others. The German soldiers acted as lords and masters, sat at prepared tables, always took precedence and insisted that they be saluted. The inmates obeyed them and awarded them with personal service. The order of the day was as follows: Morning—washing at eight; housecleaning until nine; coffee; preparation for the medical examinations which came at eleven; at two, rice or bean soup, with 250 grams of bread; Sunday and Thursday afternoons, coffee again; supper at seven, retiring at nine. The triumvirate in charge exercised strict supervision, but every now and then one of them fell in love with one of the patients who was well or had already been cured. Thus love relations were enacted in the very house where the physician appeared daily and where medicine and injections were prepared to accelerate the healing process. The French mayor paid the heating and other household expenses, while foodstuffs were provided by the American relief forces. The equipment was extremely poor. Before and after meals, prayers were said. Record of the treatment was kept in a thin green notebook called the *whore-ledger*. Every month a report was filed with the German commandant, not only concerning the patients, but even of young children whom their mothers had brought into the prison with them.

The general rule was that before any woman could be released she would have to show a negative reaction in ten tests—which meant at least five weeks. If this series of ten showed any positive reaction at all the patient knew that for the ensuing six months there would be no release from her jail. The arden French women suffered dreadfully from sex hunger. Many became dull and stuporous, praying for hours in the chapel, obeying all orders in a semi-waking lethargy. On other occasions, there would be a mania reaction from this inertia during which the woman would hurl herself madly upon the ground, tear her hair, roll on her musty bed, groan and howl. Weeks of quiet desperation would follow again, until she was approached by one of the German soldiers.

These sex-famished women practiced tribadism occasionally. One evening the supervisor saw a blue light gleaming on the second floor. Since any illumination was prohibited, he went upstairs to investigate, and saw the following: In a circle a mob of women all in their night shirts or underthings were huddled. On a chair stood a light

which was concealed by a blue paper. Two naked girls, Chapsal and impudent little Berte, were dancing an erotic pantomime in the boldest way, Chapsal acting as the man and Berte as the woman. The group hummed a melody and finally broke out into hoarse cries when the two dancers embraced each other. There was kissing and one of the audience put a red paper over the light which threw a lurid reflection on the bare flesh when the real act began with all its wildness. Chapsal's robust arms worked energetically. Her hair fell upon her athletic shoulders and only her breasts betrayed the fact that she was a woman. Berte had turned her head in my direction. Merriment and mockery laughed out of her eyes and face; but soon passion gripped her and contorted her features and she gave herself completely, without realizing that it was only a woman who was possessing her in complete and glorious fulfillment.

Early in the history of these institutions, attempts at flight were not infrequent. Women broke out because of tedium or fear of being sent to Germany, of yearning for their family, or of sex hunger. After the military administration was introduced, fugitives were rapidly caught, returned and punished; yet, in spite of everything, the women continued to speak of flight and to sing a rather naughty song that had arisen in the hospital in praise of flight. It is interesting to linger a moment over one line that occurs in this song, "*Je ne suis pas malade.*" This conviction, that they were being kept in these hospitals out of pure caprice or ill-will, was shared by healthy and sick women alike. Said one, "Assuming that we really are sick, why is the enemy interested in our recovery?" This patient answered her own question by stating that the enemy really wished to harm them. "They pencil us with iodine so that we may become sterile. *Pauvre France!*"

Others again said, "Why this long treatment in order to do away with the *whites*. Perhaps a few are really sick, but as for the others, it is just a matter of German brutality and sadism. . . . This remarkable sickness is unknown in France; and if anyone should ever consider it of sufficient importance to regard it as a disease about three or four weeks would suffice to cure it, not a whole year."

The manner in which most of these women were dragged into the jail that went by the name of *hospital* was very simple indeed. As soon as the authorities were informed about a relationship existing between a French woman and a German soldier they offered this woman a choice between the correction house and a brothel. Many times these women were denounced by the civil inhabitants

of the place, but nearly everyone of these prisoners was poor; the girls belonging to officers were never molested. This fact was very clearly expressed in a popular ballad, that certain women were never arrested because they slept with the higher-ups. Not infrequently, heartbreaking scenes were enacted when innocent girls were hauled into these hospitals, pitiful victims of an unscrupulous informer dressed in German uniform.

In these institutions, innocent girls learnt the craft of harlotry. For most of the inmates of these lazarets were women who had been torn out of a happy life, been brutalized for a few months, and then cast into a miserable life. Hence these hospitals can well be regarded as symbols of the shocking tragedies contained in the sinks of vice that were called halting-stations. In them were incarcerated, behind nailed windows and bolted doors, the women of the occupied land. Together with the auxiliary operatives and the nurses of the sector hospital, they constituted the stock of female flesh which was sold in the sex market of the sector. The officers, with the appetites of harem lords, went from the arms of one into the lap of another. In his case only was the hope realized that, thanks to the war, all the bonds of bourgeois morality would be broken. Millions bled their lives away or sank to the status of animals in the trenches, but the officer of the station enjoyed his life. Moreover, the military authority saw to it that the wife of such officers stationed here never came to visit her husband; only in the Austrian army were officers permitted to have their wives with them on the dangerous battlefield. The German officer assigned to the halting-stations, therefore, had to have his amorous escapades here or else would have been condemned to celibacy even as his wife at home suffered from sex starvation.

Of course it was just a matter of luck that anyone was able to spend all the years of the war in the sector. Any day one might be sent to the front and changed from "station stallion" to "battle-front swine." Hence this was all the more reason for giving full play to one's appetites while such an indulgence was possible.

Infected station girls and nurses; natives, with faces stamped by poverty and misery, whose women sold themselves; compulsory hospitals for venereal patients; prostitution in all its permissive and clandestine forms; incredible misery and riotous indulgence: such garish colors did the war hurl upon the canvas of history to bring forth the mad picture of the station.

Chapter 11

CIVILIAN DEBAUCHERY BACK HOME

Stealing Loses its Stigma—Mad Lust for Pleasure—Night Life Excesses—Debaucheries of the War Profiteers—Rhine Pleasure Boats—Excess of Women and Dearth of Men—Extra-Marital Affairs Increase—Sexual Crimes—Venereal Diseases Among Very Young Girls—Instability of War Marriages—Sex Experiences of Boys—“Dance of the Gonococci”—Statute of Illegitimate Children Revised—Revolution of Morals—Short and Infrequent Furloughs of Men—Sexual Aggressiveness of Women—“Supply and Demand” in Sex Realm—Extravagance of Women’s Fashions—“The Uninhibited Woman”—The Marriage Pirate—Physical Attraction of the Negro—Sexual Promiscuity in All Warring Nations—Piquant Movies, Books, Posters, Etc.—Nudist Dens and Naked Parties—Male Prostitution—Orgies in “Limited Clubs”—Societies of Drug Addicts—“Women’s Love Slave” Club—Wealthy Women’s Sex Societies—Other Private and Secret Organizations

THE effects of the war on the hinterland, which helped to carry it on, cannot readily be answered. Wide areas of the population, especially of the urban proletariat and *petit bourgeois* suffered unspeakably during these years, even in the allied countries which were less harassed by economic deprivations. On the other hand, in all the warring nations there arose a comparatively large group to whom the war brought enormous wealth. This was not a new phenomenon, of course. Daniel Defoe, two centuries earlier, had complained of the war millionaires of his time, but as in everything else, the World War made old things assume extraordinary proportions. At one blow, morality, decency and solidity in business transactions disappeared entirely. Everyone began to trade. Abetted by an indifferent government, there arose a new mentality such as had never appeared before, the mentality of the war purveyor, who later was called the “War Profiteer.” Theft lost its criminal character. In supplying the army, it was considered quite natural to lie, deceive and steal. The few prosecutions, which did not get very far, did nothing to halt this trend.

The hunger for pleasure and lusty joy of this new class stamped its seal upon the love life of the hinterland. The bitter contrast between the luxurious life of that group which the war had exalted, and the brutalizing conditions at the front constituted that spiritual discrepancy between battle-front and hinterland which elicited so many charges in war books. The most pregnant expression of this was given by Romain Rolland when he made Clerambault say after he had arrived in Paris:

"The patrons of the cafés were ready to maintain the war for twenty years if necessary."

The debauchery of the war profiteers has as its primary and general basis, the fact that in the course of its history bourgeois morality always begins to totter when one layer of the bourgeois class has accumulated an excess of capital which cannot be employed in productive processes. In addition to this, there was a psychological factor, namely, that the longer the war lasted, the less likely did it appear that these *nouveaux riches* would be able to save their stolen riches when peace would come. Hence the mad rush to spend. At the end of August, 1918, the *Vorwärts* reported that never before had the Rhine steamers been so crowded as in the summer of 1918, never before had so much Rhine wine been consumed, never before had so many merry parties been arranged to various portions of the Rhine district. So boisterous did these parties become, that the commanding general in the vicinity of *Rüdesheim* ordered the police to quiet some of the obstreperous private parties.

On the other hand, the economic misery in all its forms, as well as the excess number of women, growing constantly greater as a result of the drafting of the men, expressed themselves in the public morality of the hinterland. Other factors that should be mentioned are the vocational activity of woman, her freer moral conceptions resulting from economic independence, the neglect of children of the lower classes, and, as the combined consequence of all these three conditions, the increase of extra-marital intercourse.

In the first years of the war sexual crimes and prostitution decreased everywhere. It was Exner's opinion that the decline in sexual crimes, in what is today the Austrian republic, was due to the fact that there were other worries at that time. But it seems much more likely that the decrease in sexual crimes was due to other factors entirely; the scarcity of men (practically all of such crimes are committed by men of fighting age), the supply of women which was far in excess of the demand and, finally, the weakness of the authorities who did endeavor to combat immorality but who were unable to achieve very much owing to the fact that their personnel was greatly reduced. In general we might say that the same thing is true of sexual crimes as prostitution: if one is to believe the statistics, both of these declined after the outbreak of the war. It was true that the number of controlled prostitutes decreased everywhere, but the number of those who practiced clandestine prostitution

increased enormously. Thus, whereas, in the five pre-war years there were on the average 617 women arrested for clandestine prostitution, the average for the five war years was 860; and it may be assumed that had the police been more active, the number would have been much larger, for the average of the years immediately following the war was 2530. The same condition seems to have existed in other large cities.

The chief of police of Paris during the war, L. Lépine, was of the opinion that the decline in controlled prostitution was due to such causes as employment. He felt that a large number of former prostitutes had now been able to find honest work owing to the fact that so many jobs were vacant. Moreover, this Frenchman insisted that besides the material grounds for a decent life there was the additional factor that, during the war, professional immorality was more dangerous since venereal diseases were much more common and contagion practically unavoidable. It was the fear of contagion and the consequent incarceration that kept the prostitute in the straight and narrow path. Now this argument is vitiated by the fallacy that it does not give sufficient consideration to clandestine prostitution for which the war gave more opportunity than ever before. Furthermore, it is very doubtful that the fear of venereal diseases could have been so decisive a factor, inasmuch as the war saw a great extension of knowledge concerning the prevention of these conditions. Be that as it may, the growth of clandestine prostitution at home and, parallel with this, the appalling spread of venereal diseases in all the warring nations are undeniable facts. It is noteworthy that, more than ever before, clandestine prostitution was practiced by young girls and married women.

The large share of young girls in prostitution and venereal diseases has been explained by H. Hofmann as follows: "The market value of clandestine and occasional prostitution, especially of young girls, rose during the war. Many women became homeless and helpless and unable to resist the onslaught of men as a result of the loosening of family ties and the often brutal separation of children and parents when the family was expelled from its native place. Without plan, without goal, many of these girls willingly followed any friend who would take them along for a little while, and, when they were discarded, they were completely bewildered and had no alternative but to continue in the path in which they had begun. Moreover, there were many cases where girls, who had come from

the country without funds and without sufficient preparation, were compelled to remain in the city for quite a while, due to difficulty in obtaining a visa, bad transportation facilities or other causes, and were compelled to traffic with their bodies in order to live."

The prostitution of married women as well as of young girls was of grave importance. The dissolution of marriage, by war, needs a special investigation; it goes beyond the limits of this work. At this point we only wish to suggest that after the war had been raging for a short while the emptiness of marriage was revealed in every land. It was seen that the female sex, in spite of all gestures, phrases and editorials, would unite with their new sexual partners just as the man cohabited in the station with his war girl; and that the war marriage, like every other human product, was imperfect and was unable to do justice to a pseudo-morality belonging to the ruling classes. The situation of woman who, in the greatest chaos of all history, demanded her natural right, which the male sex, consciously or unconsciously always pursued, found only rigid and unjust judges. The strictest and most unjust were themselves women who, in various cities, allied as well as German, volunteered to the police to get information regarding the sexual attachments of suspected women. These actions show very clearly the envy which those "strict" women felt toward those members of their sex who were fortunate enough to have a man. All phases of the protection of young people disclosed clearly the element of sexual envy which, frequently and quite unconsciously, came to most grotesque expression.

Of equal importance is the question of youth during the war. Naturally we are concerned with the youth of both sexes, for the prostitution of young girls, induced by the war, had as its counterpart the precocious sex experiences of boys. Hundreds of youths, whose fathers lay on the battlefield, achieved an extraordinary position at home. Paternal authority had disappeared, and the mother, completely absorbed by worries, work and distress, was without power, unable to dictate to her children because she was dependent on their wages (frequently the wages of shame). For all these boys the beginning of the love life was nothing like a bashful and tender whispering in the moonlight, but a direct and brutal seizing of female breasts and female thighs.

These conditions were not confined to the depraved metropolis, which the pious rustics had always abominated, but could be found in the most old-fashioned little villages. Thus, in one little Swabian

city a sixteen-year-old apprentice boasted that he had two young ladies as lovers and as many others with whom he carried on more or less indecent flirtations; and in the same nest of piety a sixteen-year-old student of the gymnasium impregnated a fourteen-year-old girl.

The multiplication of venereal diseases was, however, not confined to the two classes of population just mentioned. The increase was an absolute one. While life and property was being ruthlessly destroyed on the battlefield, back at home there began the "dance of gonococci" which reached orgiastic proportions immediately after the war. In Paris, the number of those affected with syphilis, during the first year of the war, increased by a third, and, in England, the number of luetics in the large cities in 1916 were estimated at ten per cent of the whole population. There are numerous other available data illustrating the terrific increase of venereal diseases at the hinterland in all the warring European nations.

But all these terrifying conditions had one good consequence. For the first time during the war, sexual life and its dangers were openly discussed. During the years of the great blood bath, sexuality ceased to be taboo. In the larger cities like Paris, Vienna, Prague, etc., hospitals were erected for prostitutes. Even in the classical land of sexual hypocrisy, England, there was organized in 1916 a society for the prevention of venereal diseases which aimed to enlighten the British masses on the dangers of sexual diseases, and to agitate for the establishment of special institutions for the treatment of syphilitics. The same year saw the inauguration in Germany of special clinics where information was given on the subject of venereal diseases, the so-called *Beratungsstellen* which were furiously opposed at the beginning, but enthusiastically accepted later. In addition, the medieval treatment of illegitimate children was subjected to a complete scrutiny and revision as public morality was compelled to take cognizance of the enormous increase of illegitimate intercourse. Perhaps the crassest example of the changed attitude on this score was in England where, for a while, there was an actual cult of "war babies," illegitimate children whose fathers were soldiers. As a matter of fact, the number of illegitimate births in all the districts of England where soldiers were quartered showed such an unexpected rise that the lower House of Parliament was forced to discuss the question of how to erase the stigma of both the children and their mothers. A Member of Parlia-

ment, McNeil, stated that in a certain district at the beginning of 1915 there were two thousand illegitimate births. Special reference was made to the fact that the Australian soldiers exercised a particular fascination upon British women. In this connection we might recall that the race fetishism of the English woman, and also the French woman, found expression in huge numbers of children of mixed breeds born during the war. In every land the question of war children was a vital one.

If the love life of the lower strata of the population back at home was characterized by economic distress and general dislocation induced by the war, the luxurious night life of the great cities constituted the frame in which the eroticism of the profiteers, the important cocottes, and the ladies of the upper classes, had its play. A comprehensive treatment of this question has been provided for us by the famous historian of morals, Curt Moreck.

With all its destructive force, the war placed its bloody hands upon the sex life of the warring nations, including those at home, and shook the whole structure of society, preparing the way for all sorts of degenerative excrescences. In a remarkably short time there were changes which signified a complete revolution in all the ethical and moral notions heretofore considered sound and sacred. What took place in this rapid change was not a revolution of moral values, which did not come to complete expression until after the war, but rather a hellish onslaught of overwhelming sexuality and a brutalizing and animalizing of sense pleasure.

This tendency became evident in the very first days of mobilization, among those groups of men who, whether because of age or other circumstances, believed themselves secure from war service and openly avowed that the whole female sex, especially the more desirable ones, would now be immediately accessible to them. The more primitive an individual's mental reactions were, the more violently did he assume the attitude just mentioned, which was merely one expression of the feeling that the condition of war denoted a dissolution of all laws, and a return to primeval lawlessness. During the war, society and state concentrate their interests upon military and politic goals, and the individual is left very much to himself in private matters. The result is that instinct, waiting only for the loosening of all bonds, took a mad jump into the whirlpool of pleasure. The feverish mood of the nations beset by war, magnified sensual irritability, increased nervous susceptibility to the point of psychosis, destroyed all inhibitions, and made individuals

more susceptible to external impressions; it created a sexual hypersensibility which made heedless and reckless even such persons as were by nature staid. It is the uncertainty of the future, the abolition of all guarantee of life, the dubiousness of all things, and the constant shadow of death which renders everything gloomy—that panicky fear at the threat of the unknown which combined to create that psychological mood in which the senses become all-powerful and imperiously demand complete fulfillment. Hence, as the whole structure of peace times collapsed, even men with fixed principles of life and structures of character became unresisting instruments of Eros.

From that despairing mood of *Après nous le déluge*, there arose an irresistible desire for pleasure as though the threatened vital powers of the individual had concentrated themselves into his sensuality and were stormily demanding their satisfaction. The pleasure of the moment was what decided the action of the individual, for the present moment was the only certain one. The war destroyed all plans, ideas and ideals. Since man had no time for thought and reflection, he let himself be overcome by a feverishly nervous impulse to be active. All his energies cried out to be translated into activity and apart from his professional activity, these energies found their release only in material joys and sensual pleasures. In the world of women, this man found a ready partner, for the woman was also a sufferer (from the absence of men) and she needed a spiritual substitute for the deprivations of love and tenderness, and also some sort of diversion from her sorrows and worries, some consolation in the oppressive swarm of exciting and terrifying impressions and reports. The senses were hungry for sensations and every situation which promised a temporary oblivion of the daily miseries was hungrily seized upon. And in the background stood sexuality. The short and uncertain furloughs of their men could scarcely be considered as sufficient satisfaction for the sexual needs of these women. This circumstance favored those men who remained at home imparting to them an extraordinary value. These men frequently became the object of pursuit by the women who showed a marked sexual aggressiveness. From the disproportionate relation of supply and demand in the realm of sex, there arose a painful situation in which the less stable elements showed signs of sexual megalomania. The numerous women, who openly pursued men, gave to life in the great cities during the war a special character.

The sexual aggressiveness imposed upon the women by the dearth

of men frequently assumed ludicrous forms. Externally, it showed itself in the arresting costumes worn by women everywhere, and the disproportionate use of cosmetics. Despite the general economic depression, for the profits of war flowed to a rather small group, the war made women spend much more on luxuries, expensive clothing, furs, decorations and cosmetics. No fashion, no matter how extravagant or dissolute, was rejected, and the more it afforded an opportunity of revealing or heightening female charms, the more enthusiastically was it accepted. The dearth of men compelled women to make the greatest efforts to lure, in the great combat for men. Even unattractive men suddenly found themselves successful and desired by women and were able to tell stories of adventures with handsome and sophisticated women. The whole order of things was changed. Men now received presents, letters and invitations instead of giving; rich women would invite young men to the most expensive restaurants and pay the bill. Not infrequently, in order to make their cavaliers sufficiently presentable, they bought luxurious clothing for them and provided them with such slighter tokens of affection as wristwatches, cigarette cases, rings, etc.

All that the law could do against this type of immorality was to prevent it from becoming public. However, the only effect of this move on the part of the authorities was to drive the evil into secrecy. Those who desired these illicit pleasures refused to be deprived of them, and they did not lose much time in discovering the best circumstances for an unlimited exploitation of all the opportunities afforded by secrecy. From this necessity of indulging their expensive lusts, apart from the public gaze, there developed in all the warring lands, under the leadership of shrewd business speculators, a clandestine pleasure industry which was very skillful in outwitting the government and its spies for long periods. What they did was to set up "private" institutions where the pursuit of the male by the female could be undertaken in a less public form, as in the hotel, but which afforded sufficient opportunities to all concerned. When the government finally learned of these activities in any one establishment, all that was necessary to do was to change the address.

These places were the playgrounds of two especially noteworthy types of the *vita sexualis* during the World War which the war phraseology designated as "the uninhibited woman" and the "marriage pirate." Around these ranged a circle of related phenomena beginning with young boys and girls who had broken away from

parental supervision, and ending with older male and female worldlings who found excitement in these secret amusement places. Moreover, the true demi-monde, now very little different from the rest of the world, was represented here and lent the whole environment the piquancy which she knew so well how to exude. Games, dancing and flirtations were the elementary stages which served as the points of contact for relations which were to become more intimate.

For the most part, luxurious private homes were rented by these crafty purveyors of illicit pleasure. Distinguished houses, in the best districts of the city, promised to offer less opportunity for official suspicion. Under the facades of middle-class decency, there developed a dissolute form of night life which kept on until morning. No one who observed these debaucheries, which in Paris and London assumed the most orgiastic forms, could believe that pleasure could so make one forget the drabness of life which was being lived not far off on the battlefield at the same time and with which most of the participants were connected through some relative or other.

Just how did the smart world of Paris (and its imitators everywhere) amuse themselves? At that time the police of Paris raided and closed three hundred houses in which, aside from dancing and carousing, intoxicants of all sorts were sold. All these holes of vice did not open before eleven. Practically all these residences were fitted out as saloons. In order to gain admission to these establishments, it was necessary to show a recommendation from one of the regular members or guests, or to appear in the company of such a one. The admission fee ranged between twenty and one hundred francs, depending upon the comforts desired. The price of a room for the night was more than double the original payment. The drinks here cost between three and ten times as much as that demanded in the best restaurants. Many of these places had little rooms, so-called *cabinets particuliers*, in which little groups of men and women would shut themselves away from the eyes of all the world, and sup and play in the style of the *soupers* of the *petites maisons* of the eighteenth century. It became fashionable for every sophisticated woman in Paris to tell of her thrilling adventures in such spots. Rich South Americans were attracted to this clever and chic institution. Despite police intervention, these nocturnal haunts multiplied. In the most elegant section of the city, between the Champs Elysées and the Bois de Boulogne, there lived a foreign woman who issued invitations for the night. The admission fee

was fifty francs for which one danced the tango, played bridge, baccarat and other games of chance, and finished with apache dances (at least the official portion was concluded with these wild dances). All this took place between midnight and morning, behind carefully shut windows, thick window-shades, heavy curtains, and doors equipped with silencing effects. Many women of the middle and higher class, whose men were at the front, were regular patrons of this establishment and were in no wise different from the demi-mondaines. On the Avenue de Wagram, one of the handsomest private homes was converted into a gambling den, where during the night tremendous sums were lost and won, where elegant and beautiful women also ventured other possessions of theirs, and where beautiful flesh, despite its comparative accessibility, sold at a high price. The Baroness de Vaughan, the morganatic widow of King Leopold of Belgium, once suffered great losses here and, since she was suspicious of the honesty of the game, she complained to the police. Accordingly, the place was raided and among the personnel were found Russian princesses, many belonging to the French nobility, dancers, jockeys, etc., engaged either in gambling or in the full fury of amorous practice in the privacy of some of the elegant cabinets. These secret clubs and resorts of a similar nature constituted, for the police, a veritable mine of contemporary curiosities and social monsters. In a raid once on one of these luxurious establishments in the vicinity of Park Monceau, there were found no less than twenty-three army speculators grown rich overnight, playing, dancing and toying with representatives of the great and of the half-world. (About a million francs in cash was found here.)

As far as the dances at these establishments were concerned, they began with the well-known tango, but soon the regular clients demanded something new. There was then presented a "prisoner's dance," with castanets, accompanied by the cry of *Kamerad, Kamerad!* but this did not find favor. Another number, "The Grave Dance," became very popular. The tablecloth had long tassels with little bells on them, and whichever dancers touched one of the tassels, causing a little bell to ring, had to leave the dancing circle. This continued until only one dancer remained. Since the tassels hung very low, the dancers had to go about with bent knees like miners in a low tunnel. In this game, the women would remove their dancing pumps and soon everyone would be dancing this

“grave dance” in stockinged feet. All superfluous clothes were unhesitatingly discarded.

At the intimate banquets given at these inns, many adventure-some ladies appeared in widows' costumes in order to lend a piquant touch to these entertainments. These “war widows,” who had not sacrificed anything during the war, were a Parisian specialty. They antagonized public opinion as they marched pompously down the boulevards. Wild female sex-hyenas found, in these secret clubs, ample opportunity to draw near to attractive representatives of the black race, both soldiers and civilians; for a number of shrewd *entrepreneurs* in this entertainment business had soon realized the attraction that negroes could exert upon these irresponsible and rampant females. As a matter of fact, when these blacks were enlisted in Africa they were inveigled into service partially by the promise of white meat waiting for them in Europe where, they were informed, white women were very fond of their dark skin. This motive is said to have influenced many to join the ranks.

The characteristic of that epoch was a promiscuous irregularity in sexual relations in all the warring lands, combined with a frivolous attitude toward sexual intercourse in general. Many men living in moderate circumstances and earning a living with considerable difficulty, suddenly saw themselves transformed into possessors of great wealth as a result of their connection with the supplies of the army and munitions. This wealth continued to flow to them uninterruptedly with no extra activity on their own part. This easy wealth demoralized them and the women who also lived from this inexhaustible stream of money; all were suddenly seized by a wild and pagan desire for pleasures of all sorts. They became accustomed to a luxurious life full of ease and the most precious appurtenances. On the other hand, where there was no multiplication of riches, competition grew more intense and prostitution increased. This occasional prostitution surpassed, by far, the former professional prostitution. In these days of the crassest sort of Mammon worship, woman's body became an article of trade which was dumped upon the market in enormous quantities; it was a capital from which the women of all classes knew how to draw interest.

All that has been said of the orgiastic outgrowths of Parisian night life in secret clubs and amusement places, was just as true of London and Berlin. In regard to the attitude of woman to her erotic adventures during the war, Dr. Huot, who has investigated this matter thoroughly, has stated that as a result of the social

transformation induced by the war and the consequent confusions of mind and spirit and the complete independence enjoyed by these women, as a result of the prolonged absence of their husbands, there grew up among certain classes of women a complete anarchy of morals. While they maintained a sort of patriotic feeling for the government, in the realm of their affectual life they lost every criterion of conduct aside from their own lusts. The majority of them regarded their derelictions with a quaint resignation and even with a sort of merriment, free from every trace of scruple as though they were the innocent victims of an ineluctable fate. Everything was explained and atoned for by referring to the fact that the war made such conditions inevitable. There were women who were firmly convinced that their honesty and decency was in no way impugned as long as their heart was not concerned in the whole nasty business, and that their defections would harm nobody provided the secret did not leak out; and what is more, they remained passionate adorers of their heroic husbands who were sacrificing themselves at the front, even at the moment when they were deceiving said husbands.

In London there was organized a national committee for the safeguarding of public morals which undertook to combat sexual abuses and malefactors, and to close down all such secret nests of vice which induced promiscuity and constituted a veritable market of lust. The chairman of this committee was a Mr. James Marchand who asserted that, while London was a den of iniquity, he, none the less, regarded it as "unEnglish" and unpatriotic to hold that fact up to all the eyes of the world. But the London press was less restrained and believed that it was possible to combine patriotism with the branding of the immorality that reigned in such haunts. The press called London a veritable Eldorado for men with money to burn. Placards with naked women, living women who sought to emulate Mother Eve, piquant literature, movies that defied every description, were everywhere to be seen; and that which took place in secret was much worse than this. There was no lack of private residences and hotels in which orgies worthy of Sardanapalus were celebrated at which the mondaines of London practiced the handiwork of Circe. All these conditions were sufficient to stamp the English metropolis as a veritable Sodom. As a result of this agitation, a number of secret clubs were shut down by the police and in the wardrobes of these establishments there were found not only the elegant coats and wraps of the ladies and

gentlemen, but also the rest of their costume for all clothing had come to be regarded as a hindrance to their social intercourse. The guests, of whom there were usually between thirty and fifty, women predominating, were all recognized, and in the catalogue of names, there could be found some of the most distinguished ones in English society.

These conditions were even worse in Germany and Austria, cut off as they were from all sources of supplies. Whereas in the poorer quarters of the city, poverty and starvation increased daily and food and clothing were supplied in meager rations, in the dens of secret vice the most exquisite delicacies were piled up through some secret manipulations, and sold at incredible prices. The choicest wines and delicatessen, that which would have meant health and strength to the weak and stricken of the war, was in these pens of pleasure misused and wasted. The authorities did try to control the public expressions of social life and succeeded in a large measure. But it was ridiculous to suppose that, by closing a few cheap saloons and prohibiting a few more streets to the operations of street-walkers, morality would be saved. Take, for example, the edict issued by the Chief of Police of Schöneberg which was as follows:

“The proprietors of public places will be held responsible for the conduct of their guests which, in keeping with the great but difficult times we are living in, should be serious. . . . Every indecent manifestation on the part of the half-world and the worldlings is particularly undesirable. Police measures will be taken to control every infraction of decency.”

This well-meant, but psychologically mistaken plan, was very foolish because all that it sought to prohibit was merely driven into secrecy and continued in an aggravated form behind closed doors. In those days, which the worthy police chief referred to as “great but difficult times,” the owners of various types of cheap hotels, used for brief amorous encounters, had an extraordinarily numerous clientele composed, not only of the professional street-girls and their customers who had been their clients before, but also women of bourgeois society who would shamelessly enter these “hotels” and “pensions” where rooms were hired out for any length of time. It was these women who now became the steady patrons of such haunts. They would find their partners mostly at the afternoon teas of the modern hotels where an elegant public would congregate, and where, under the guise of utmost decency, there flourished a verita-

ble love market. The recognized underworld of prostitution regarded the intrusion of these women into their domain as injurious competition, for their rivals very frequently not only gave their favors but even paid the man when the male partner had been able to win the sympathy and interest of the woman. In the circles of the masculine worldlings and those associated with them, the information was soon spread concerning just where the elegant and rich of these lively women were to be found. With complete lack of discretion every man would share his experiences with his fellows and exchange addresses of women as well as women themselves.

A number of the female guests at these teas were ladies from the provinces who, hungry for experiences, had fled to the metropolis from the blankness of their own provincial life. With true womanly instinct and the adaptability native to their sex, they were able to fit into the new situation and to go about capturing men with all the *refinement* of their metropolitan sisters. They gave themselves to all the delights of the day and night with almost insatiable appetite, and without fear of scandal; indeed, they surrendered themselves all the more readily to their instincts because they had only a brief span in which to enjoy the pleasures of the great city. Often these ladies tried to contract some sort of stable relationship so as to prepare a ready rendezvous for their future visits and not lose precious time in search for available bed-partners.

Letters that have come into our hands from such adventurous female libertines afford us abundant information concerning the forms of sexual pleasure common among these pairs. Nowhere is there a hint of a yearning for tenderness; all that is desired is the sexual titillation whose satisfaction constituted the goal of the whole activity. It was brutal sense pleasure which didn't even give a thought to veiling itself but shamelessly avowed its panting lustfulness. These letters show most cynically how rapid was the passage from the flirtation in the hotel lobby to all the corporeal details of coition in which all the complications and finenesses of pleasure were investigated; and if the private copulation was not found thrilling enough a small group of kindred spirits would congregate to test the further possibilities of the love play *en bloc*, in orgiastic intoxication.

The partial limitation which was placed upon cabarets and similar institutions during the war, especially in Germany, induced certain shrewd businessmen to transfer these establishments to secret places which they dressed up by the name of a "limited club," but all that

was necessary for admission to this club was the possession of the password which could be gotten from any of the steady guests, and, of course, a considerable admission fee. One could always get in if accompanied by one of the regular patrons. These places were very popular among the worldlings and the ardent females in pursuit of men, for they served as the meeting ground. Moreover, the performances which were given here went far beyond anything that could be permitted at a public restaurant or cabaret, and they set the tone for the liberated desires and whims of these people, mad with life, and served as fitting preparation for the intimate encounters that were to follow later. If other and stronger means were necessary, there were wines and whiskies available. Furthermore, even during the war, other stimulants which later became shockingly popular began to be used, such as morphine and cocaine. Certain secret clubs had the reputation of being playgrounds of narcotic addicts, and many women were among the devotees. In short these institutions recognized no limitations.

These places were all remarkably alike. At the center of the festivities there would usually be some famous dancer whose erotic dances would lend the requisite sensual atmosphere. The chief supporters of the whole environment, which required a great deal of money to run, were the manufacturers and traders who had come to wealth by the fortunes of war and the crowd of ne'er-do-wells who clustered around the infamous profiteers. The "artistic" dance in the nude by one or more dancers—in one particular case it was announced to the guests as the "dance of crime and of vice" and acted out before the guests by a dancer who had grown famous in this specialty and her partner—was sometimes just a program number and something to set the mood; but in other cases, it was an end in itself and was participated in by all the guests. These gay parties did not always remain concealed, for occasionally a participant would reveal these orgies and the matter would come to the attention of the police who would one night raid the given temple of love and disrupt the festivities.

Men and women of the higher ranks of society crowded most eagerly to the studio parties held by artists at that time at which the Bohemians and their models carried on in the most animal fashion. It is true that for the rich bourgeois, who were interested in such scenes of nakedness and lust as were here enacted, these parties lacked the material wealth and splendor to which they were accustomed but to compensate for that the animal vitality was

higher. In this way it came about that the artist-folk would constitute a minority and the guests of the other world would set the tone of their whole occasion which was, however, in no wise distinguished from the free intercourse common to *la Bohème*. To the latter, the distinguished guests of the bourgeois world were not unwelcome because they not only brought with them the aroma of their own world but contributed to the festivities of the night by supplying heavily laden baskets of wine and delicacies. Thus, on the outskirts of Munich, there was a house in which several more or less well-known artists lived and where, night after night, a whole line of autos could be seen discharging very rich and elegant guests. In this house, lights were not extinguished until the sun had put them out and on the floors, and even on the steps, there was wild and dissolute dancing and embracing, singing and laughing, a veritable carnival of lust and life. This limitless expansion of energies and uncontrolled sway of instinct were particularly evident in those people who were continually preaching to others who knew nothing but the grayness and the misery and the sorrow of the dreadful war period, the ringing messages of perseverance. It was they who were seeking to drive the others to ever-increasing sacrifices in order that their own wealth might be magnified and their pleasure increased.

A question that is intimately connected with the eroticism of the hinterland is the sexual life of the woman of the higher ranks of society during the war. This life was, of course, a product of numerous factors, such as sex hunger induced by the absence of men and the consequent initiative in amorous matters that the female sex began to assume. These factors were true of all women but only those of the moneyed classes had the economic power to satisfy and indulge their desires. In the lower strata these had to be appeased in different ways. Accordingly, the results of the lack of men were non-existent for women of wealth because they could always obtain men. A specific consequence of this dearth of men arose during the war—the prostitution of men which was seen in all the larger cities of warring Europe. Perhaps the most complete information on this score is to be derived from Professor Eduard von Liszt of Vienna. This scholar published a short study on the changes in the stratification of the population of Vienna induced by the war in which he pointed out that the loosening of marriage had been appreciably aided by the formation of transitory relationships (which in turn were a consequence of the absence of

men). Many married women no longer thought of themselves as married and many even hoped for the dissolution of their marriage ties through the death of their husbands. Liszt pointed to the increase in the number of abortions and child murders as proof of his thesis. The opportunity was now given to all women to enter into these gallant relationships and not a few took advantage of the freedom. Subsequently Liszt came into the possession of very interesting data concerning the prostitution of men in Vienna and we now take the liberty of quoting his own account:

"I recently met a former officer, let us call him A., who now occupies an important civil position. Since he was in excellent humor, he told me the following experience that he had had during the war as an officer stationed in Vienna. At that time, he had been in great need of money and he noted with considerable envy that one of his colleagues, another officer whom we shall call B., was always well provided with cash. One day A. complained to B. concerning the miserable state of his finances, whereupon the latter replied with comradely interest, that if A. would do the same as he, A. would also be well provided with money. As a result, the needy officer promised to do everything that was expected of him. Shortly thereafter B. came to him and bade him be prepared that evening: an auto would call for him and A. was to go wherever he would be taken. B. informed his friend that he need have no fear concerning anything and before he went he gave him a certain password, 'L.F.D.'

"A. was then informed how he was to strike up new acquaintances with women of the society. He was to sit in a certain Vienna café, order something and then set his credential unobtrusively before him. This done, the lady returned to her friends who were waiting in the adjoining room and called out laughingly, 'So the lion is tamed.' Then followed the début of the lion. After his services had been rendered, he was brought back to his home by the same auto with the windows still screened from the outside. As he left the villa, the female servant slipped into his hand an envelope containing 120 Austrian kronen, by no means a trivial figure at that time."

What the Austrian officer went on to relate to me about his further exploits is material for the pornographer only. However, one of the more innocent episodes may be cited here. It concerned an ostensibly "innocent" girl, a *demi-vierge*, who wanted sexual pleasure (without any danger attached) but still felt shame before

a man. She had turned to her aunt for advice on this matter and the latter introduced her to A. What was most piquant in this anecdote was the instruction given to the officer by the aunt before meeting the girl. The aunt assured the girl that she had hypnotized the officer so that he would gratify every desire of hers but would never remember her or anything connected with her. The man appears to have played the rôle very well."

It is understood that such things are not at all new. Long before, Gumpłowicz had shown that when women had been left alone during wars, in previous centuries, they entered into intimate relations with the serfs at home. The tradition and history of antiquity and the Middle Ages contain copious references to such situations. Thus Długossius, *Historia Polonica* relates that Polish women during 1676: "*Diuturna maritorum exspectatione fessæ . . . ad servorum convolant nonnullæ (uxores) amplexus.*" Naturally modern times contain innumerable instances of this sort.

Chapter 12

GENITAL INJURIES, WAR EUNUCHS, ETC.

Gun Wounds in the Testicles—The Eunuchs of the World War—Steinach's Experiments to Restore Virility—Transplanting of Testicles—Literary Use of Such Material—Woman's Relation to War Cripples—Sexual Pathology—Disappearance of Libido, Erection and Ejaculation—Examples of War Perversion—Sexual Regression and Infantilism—War Neurosis and Sexuality—Sadistic Methods of Treatment—Kaufmann's Shock Cure—Its Terrible Tortures—Cruelty in Psychiatric Wards—Soldiers Deliberately Wound Themselves—Venereal Diseases Self-Inflicted—The Shadow of Death

FOR four and a half long years the war machine whirred and whirled, constantly demanding more human flesh to stuff into its insatiable, cruel maw. Those who fell into its merciless wheels came out, if not dead, at least crippled or undone. It was given to only a few to remain in the "steel bath" for any length of time without sustaining injury to body or soul. A *Sittengeschichte* of the World War cannot omit these victims of war for the problem of war injuries and war crippings has numerous connections with questions of sexual life as will appear presently. We shall confine ourselves to an investigation of the problem: how far sexual life was influenced by physical and psychical wounds.

Above all, it was shot wounds in the testicles and also injuries to the spinal marrow which induced a complete disappearance of the sexual functions. Injuries of this sort were not uncommon during the war which explains their frequent occurrence in literature. Yet it appears that poetry gave much more attention to this problem of emasculation during the war than did science. One of these cases became famous in medical literature because the patient became a subject for transplantation experiments. The following report was given by Dr. Robert Lichtenstern: "On June 13, 1915, a twenty-nine-year-old soldier sustained a gun wound on the left thigh which inflicted grave injuries upon the scrotum, both testicles and the urethra. When the patient was brought to the hospital, he noticed that in urinating most of the urine ran out through the wound in the scrotum, only a small portion being voided in the natural way. He was suffering from gangrene of both testicles and serious wounds in the urethra. The next day both gangrened testicles were excised because there was danger of a generalized infection. A few days after this operation, the fever declined and the suppuration as well. The patient voided most of his urine through

the perineal wound. As a result of his injuries, the patient's libido had declined tremendously, but in the first two weeks during erotic conversations, he had erections on two occasions.

"On July 7, 1915, he was admitted to the surgical department of the Vienna Hospital and submitted to another examination. He was a large, powerful man with normal internal organs. His whole conduct was distinguished by an indifference to the outside world. There was no trace of testicles and on both sides of the wound there were the granulated stumps of both ligated seminal vesicles, in the middle of which the urethra lay free. The prostate showed, upon rectal examination, a normal size and consistency; the bladder emptied by a catheter was clear. In order to close his urethral wound, a temporary catheter was introduced; in the course of the next fourteen days, his wound became perfectly clear and began to form scar tissue. The opening of the fistula closed so that the catheter could be removed; the patient got up and urinated in the normal way. But he still showed a complete indifference toward everything that happened in the hospital and towards his comrades; he read nothing and manifested no interest whatever in the war. In answer to questions he replied that he had absolutely no libido and no erections. Close observation showed that for practically six weeks until the last day of August, he had no erections at all and that, despite various devices calculated to arouse him, he felt no libido whatever. For the most part the patient sat near his bed or at the window, ate voraciously, slept a lot, and busied himself with absolutely nothing at all. The loss of both testicles resulted in a remarkable increase of adipose tissue, especially around the neck which gave the patient a peculiarly stupid appearance. His facial hair, especially his mustache, fell out completely, and his bodily hair decreased too, especially at the *linea alba* which became almost hairless so that the pubic hairs were set off horizontally from the abdominal epidermis."

As has been mentioned, this case became famous because, as a result of certain experiments that Steinach had made upon animals, an attempt was made to transplant upon this patient a testicle which had been removed from a case of cryptorchism that had been operated upon for this ailment. The result of the transplantation aroused considerable attention in medical circles for the patient showed marked improvement. Various castration symptoms, such as adiposity, altered trichosis, loss of libido and psychic indiffer-

entism, all receded temporarily so that the patient actually entertained the idea of marrying.

Other organic injuries also induced a whole series of grave disturbances of the sexual function. Thus Boenheim has described a case where as a result of a gun wound in the vicinity of the second lumbar vertebra, there supervened the loss of ejaculation, orgasm and libido.

As has been said, the psychological side of this problem was seized upon by literature and treated by many writers. The sensations of the unfortunate eunuchs of the World War and their conduct of life which entailed a total reorganization of their life-pattern, offered poets and writers elaborate material for literary treatment. One of the most moving representations of this sort we quote from Bruno Vogel's magnificent war book:

"Pushing myself along the ground with my arms and my right foot, I crawled over on my belly. I drank greedily and wanted to finish the whole bottle. I crawled further, making my way slowly over limbs writhing in their death agony and flaming fever, beyond large heaps of charred coal in the form of human beings, gazed into eyes torn wide open as though they could not realize that they were already dead, fell over wounded men who were groaning as loudly as though they were lying with a woman in passion. Soon both of my canteens were empty. I saw Sczeczpyk again. With amazing precision his generative organs had been shot from his body. '*Herr Leutenant,*' he whispered, a little bit ashamed and in deep confidence, '*Herr Leutenant,* and I have never yet had a girl.' He gladly accepted the cigarette I gave him and I softly stroked his hair and forehead. Finally I slipped my hand over his eyes and, as a little smile of pleasure curled over his mouth, I pushed my mercifully brutal sword into his side. There passed over him a movement as though he wanted to sneeze, and that was all. He was saved. I had committed a murder."

The devastating reaction which occurs when one realizes that for the rest of one's life one will be unable to enjoy the highest pleasure of this mortal life, has been well depicted for us in the famous Siberian diary of Edwin Erich Dwinger entitled, *The Army Behind Barbed Wire*. The young author lay in a Russian hospital for prisoners-of-war with an abdominal wound. One evening, after supper, where they had again been served black *kascha*, a heavy groat which none of them was able to accommodate in his weak stomach, he saw that the man who had sustained an injury of the

testicles was getting up from his bed for the first time. This man came right up to the author and looked at him as though he had just awakened from a frightful dream.

"I say," he began, "please tell me—you are an educated man and must know it—will it go without?"

"What do you mean, comrade?" Dwinger asked dismayed.

Thereupon he opened his drawers and made a short cutting movement and said painfully, "They cut it off for me. It isn't there any more. Isn't that so?"

Dwinger didn't know whether to tell the truth or not. He really wasn't able to do it. So he muttered something to the effect that he believed that it was possible . . . only that . . . there wouldn't be any children.

"So," mumbled the unfortunate man, "so there won't be any children." He was silent for a moment, breathed with difficulty and then drew a picture from his shirt which he held before my eyes. It showed a broad, buxom girl, a perfect child-bearing machine. "My wife," he said briefly. "Until now we weren't able to have any children because there wasn't any money for them." However, it was his wife's fondest wish to have at least six children, for she held that without children life was nothing. Having said this he turned around slowly and walked to his bed, stretched himself out painfully and never spoke to anyone else until they sent him to Siberia. It is significant that we meet the tragic figure of this emasculated man further on in the novel, but at this later stage, he rejoices that he does not have to suffer the sexual hunger which the others are being plagued by.

Before we turn to view the panorama of these most pitiful victims of the war, we must cast a glance at the women who were tied to such men and who indirectly were the victims of the mass insanity of war. It is the special merit of the poet, Ernst Toller, to have illuminated the tragedy of these women in their relations to their castrated husbands. Toller's *Hinkemann* may be regarded as the final literary formula of the emasculated soldier who returns home from the wars, and the inability of his wife to continue a veritably inhuman sacrifice in his behalf. In many cases, the wife of the war eunuch was animated by the best and most noble motives, just like Hinkemann's wife; but all of these pathetically noble resolves were shipwrecked on the rocks of our workaday, all-too-human life. If we are going to lend our pity to any of the marriages ruined by the war, we certainly should expend it here,

for in this case we are dealing with a group of men who will never be able to find their lost happiness by the side of a woman. From every outcry of Toller's hero, we hear the whole dismal and appalling tragedy of a creature who has gone through the vast hell of war, and it is a cry which can never be silenced. How brutal is the reply to Hinkemann by his wife's seducer, Paul Grosshahn, who rebukes the cripple for seeking to keep his wife a nun. Hinkemann is informed by the seducer that he is in reality nothing more to his wife now than a ground for divorce!

How little the war mentality was able to take cognizance of the actual needs of human beings, appears from the demands made upon women in connection with the invalidism of their husbands. It was held to be quite natural that women should remain chained for the rest of their lives to crippled men, and that they should be willing to live this sort of sacrificial existence. In regard to this class of human beings, it was expected that not only would the spirit be willing, but also that the flesh would be free of all weakness. For a little while it appeared that all the evils of war would be abolished if only there were the certainty that the cripples and invalids who returned from the battlefield would not have to remain without their wives or live unmarried. In this sacrifice of her own happiness, the preachers of this gospel saw the essential patriotic duty of every woman—and, of course, no further ground was necessary than this. From every newspaper and pulpit this message was shouted at women. The Hungarian archbishop, Johann Csernoch, preached in this fashion as early as the second month of the war. This vogue waned, however, as early as the end of the very first year of the war. It turned out that the solicitude of those responsible for the war toward the welfare of the victims of the war, was only a part of war propaganda. Even in England, where this artificial ideology could show its greatest triumphs and where this vogue went so far that parents and wives looked with pride at their sons and husbands who returned from the battlefield crippled, the propaganda nature of this whole ideology was just as apparent.

In a German essay of that time dealing with this question we read the following: "Many people will honestly desire an answer to the question of how anyone can propose to a normal woman that she marry a cripple. The answer is not very easy, but none the less science has given it. Our orthopedic surgery has gotten to the point today where it can take a man who has lost his arms

or legs and render him capable of earning his own living; by teaching him proper exercises and giving him proper appliances, modern science can actually fit this man to do the most varied kinds of work. . . . All that is necessary is that women and girls should learn to take the proper attitude to our honored war heroes. For this spirit must be learnt. In this new attitude to cripples the great power of love will be able to accomplish tremendous things; but the first thing that is necessary is to put oneself into the new relationship and to become accustomed to the fact that this or that man has no arm or leg."

Pious counsels such as these might have been taken to heart at a time when patriotic vanity spoke in favor of the invalids. But very soon, in this respect also, life demanded its own, and true to itself but merciless to its victims, it did not permit itself to be violated so that the crime of those who had demanded war would appear less grave because the consequences of the war were being glozed over in this fashion. And if even after the cult of the wounded ebbed, certain women in the early period of the war still continued to feel attracted to wounded men this was, to a large extent, due to a pathological condition. Sexual pathology has taught us that there is scarcely a single bodily deformity or abnormality which will definitely deprive its possessor of every possibility of woman's love, for disgusting as it may seem to the normal person, it is these very abnormalities which act as erotic attractions upon certain members of the opposite sex (varieties of fetishism and masochism). A short time ago the Berlin *Institut für Sexualforschung* received a long communication from a man who lived in a rural German community, describing this kind of relationship between his own wife and a war cripple. The unhappy husband recognized and described very accurately the uncanny charm exercised by his rival upon his wife who had formerly been an exemplary partner. This case was typical of many others.

Let us now return to our original theme. We have already seen that injuries to the testicles and genitals resulted in the extinction of the sexual function, and insofar as they led to castration, resulted in all the sequelæ of eunuchism. But there was a whole series of other injuries which were also connected with grave disturbances of the sexual function. To this category of war injuries belonged all injuries to the head where the brain was affected, various contusions of the spinal marrow and similar wounds which resulted in a complete extinction of the sexual function.

Even without these injuries, many wounded men complained of disturbed sex function and there are statistics to bear out these complaints. Thus, Dr. F. Pick found among twenty-five officers and seventy-five soldiers who were in his service that ten of the former and seven of the latter complained of high grade disturbances of this sort. In more than half of these cases, libido, erection and ejaculation had completely disappeared and in the others, while the libido had not been extinguished, the erections were meager and unsatisfactory and the ejaculations completely absent. While in the majority of cases, sexual disturbances disappeared by the side of other symptoms of the disease, in the case of two convalescents ill from jaundice and arthritis, these erotic symptoms were regarded as the cause of their nervousness, and in one case led to ideas of inferiority and attempts at suicide. Pick saw the origin of this impotence primarily in the so-called "commotion neurosis" which induces changes in the lumbo-sacral marrow with consequent injury to the centrum genitospinale, and also in the enforced abstinence at the front. That the sexual hunger of the soldiers was in all respects calculated to produce these results, we have seen in our consideration of eroticism in the trenches.

In general, the purely psychic disturbances of the war could exercise a considerable influence not only on the intensity but also on the direction of the sexual impulse. This is a question concerning which there is a considerable difference of opinion. That perversions arose among soldiers, that there was a definite shunting of the erotic impulse to another direction, cannot be maintained in the strict sense of the terms. Wherever there were generated new sexual needs which tended in a direction different from the norm of sexual activity, we may see the coming to power of erotic notions which were present before, but which came to dominance only during the war, whereas previously they had been kept under strong control. We know that the soldier's manner of life, especially the atmosphere of the trenches, was all too prone to throw off inhibitions which had been accumulated in the course of human history and in the development of the individual. All this belongs to the phenomena which we shall consider in the chapter on *Bestialization*. Nothing is clearer than that, as a result of this process which was undergone by every soldier to a greater or less degree, unconscious motives of an animal-infantile-primitive sort were freed from their former subservience to the censorship of

consciousness and civilization, and were given a tremendous opportunity for fulfillment.

Wulffen has brought to our attention the following case which illustrates the general set-up in cases of reversion. A certain officer who returned home from the war made the following strange request of his wife: That she put a dog's collar around his neck and then whip him with a dog-whip as he crawled around the room on all fours. It is obvious that this is a case of zoo-masochism, the roots of which extended into this man's past and all that the war did was to liberate the abnormal impulse from its inhibitions. It may be remarked in passing that Wulffen has also expressed an opinion shared by many others, that the impotence of many men who returned home on a furlough was attributable to unconscious homosexual components which had become strengthened on the battlefield and which now on their return home expressed themselves in an aversion to woman. This was certainly true of a number of such cases.

We wish to cite another case of "war perversion" which has been investigated by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld. This case is especially interesting as an illustration of the aberration of infantilism which was especially favored by the whole environment of the war and came to expression in such phenomena as the aversion to work and dreaminess of many soldiers insofar as these conditions were expressions of the pathological state of infantilism. This case concerned a young officer who had been wounded in a bomb explosion. He had been left with a very active *tic convulsif*. The patient admitted that, long before this time, he had had numerous sexual compulsive notions but he had always been able to exorcise them. However, after his war experiences, he was completely dominated by these painful sexual imaginings which had a very strongly infantile character. The strongest erotic feelings were aroused in him when he saw little children, especially little boys, chastised and beaten on their bare posteriors and it gave him the greatest pleasure to imagine himself in the place of the punished child. He was also excited when he saw children attending to their natural needs but he could never become active with them; the very thought made him feel disgusted. At the sight of such spectacles he would feel sexual excitation and then when he got home he would recall the whole situation and satisfy himself. The patient, who was twenty-five years old, admitted that various childish

phrases continually ran through his mind and that he preferred to wear boys' clothing.

In any consideration of the relation between war injuries and sexuality, we must not fail to make some reference to the various types of war neuroses. In these cases we are dealing with the psychological reactions of a fairly large number of soldiers to the experiences of war. That neuroses did not occur more frequently is really a token of the capacity for adaptation to be found in the *kulturmensch*, an adaptation that would have been utterly impossible for the man of former times. Inasmuch as all forms of war neuroses were, without exception, accompanied by light disturbances of sexual life, we are obliged to consider this question more closely.

During the war, the question of war neuroses was discussed with a great deal of bitterness. Everybody knows the type of man afflicted with war-palsy or tremors induced by the war. Those living documents of the criminal insanity of war can still be found on the street corners, particularly of the Central European cities. Through the incessant trembling of their hands or their bodies, they hope to find in the pity of passersby a substitute for the gratitude their fatherland owes them but has never paid. They constitute the group of war neurotics. During the war, there were whole masses of them to be seen. The fully developed illness showed generalized tremors, inability to walk or stand, combined with very strong feelings of dread when movement was forcibly imposed upon them. Another group showed remarkable anomalies of posture, compulsive attitudes or various paralyses. The majority of these illnesses arose as a result of shock, especially in bomb shocks. It appeared to some, as to the leading German neurologist, H. Oppenheim, that all these phenomena were to be regarded as organic disturbances. It was his opinion that these conditions were based on changes induced in the central nervous system by the shock which consisted in a loosening of the extraordinarily fine textures of the tissues and in the breaking up of the paths which the impulses of innervation had formerly traversed.

Contrasted with this, were many cases in which there were no organic changes, that the morbid condition had arisen in the absence of any injury and, finally, that the majority of cases could be helped by psychological influences like hypnosis or suggestion. Others sought to explain the cause of the morbid condition by a spiritual experience attributable to fright. As a matter of fact, it

had very frequently been observed that at great natural catastrophes like earthquakes, or accidents like railway collisions, the people involved reacted with attitudes that are well known as biological fundamental types of conduct among the lower forms of life such as insects. These are elementary reactions like the "opossum reflex" in which the animal becomes immobile, or the "storm of movements" which is a tendency to flee from danger through incessant and apparently undirected motion. Before we consider the attempt which psychoanalysis has made to answer the question as to the origin of war neuroses and to bridge over the two theories of shock and fear, we wish to say something concerning the classification of these diseases which we also owe to psychoanalysis. According to this division, there are two types: conversion hysteria and fear neurosis.

In the work of Bartlett, entitled *Psychology in the Soldier*, we find a serviceable and popular description of the genesis of the first type, conversion hysteria, whose symptoms were the paralysis and compulsive postures already mentioned.

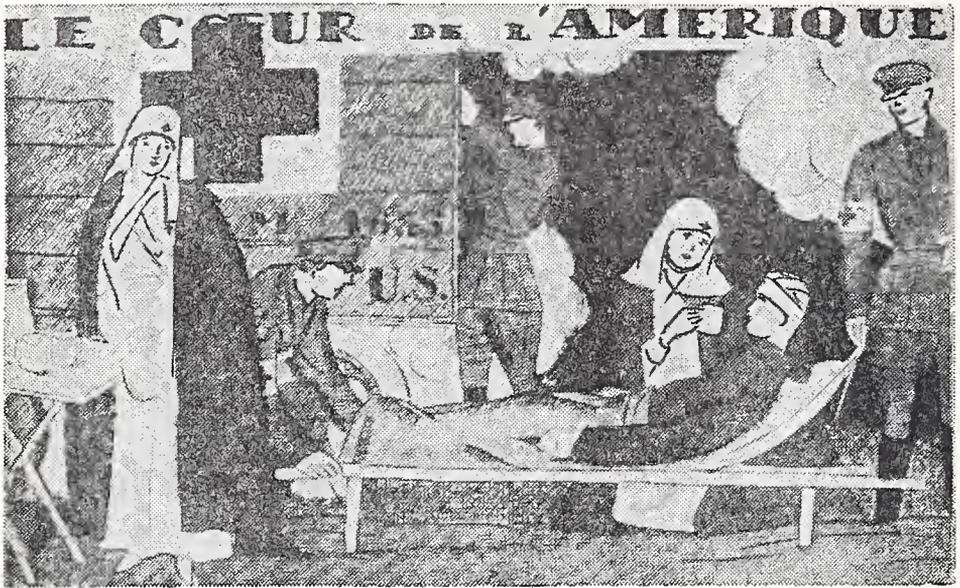
"The soldier became hysterical not because he got something queer into his head, but because in the totality of interests which normally constituted his personality, there was no place for war or, in general, anything which threatened to destroy the plan of his life. All through his life he had been accustomed to react, simply and immediately, to situations as they arose but now this was impossible for him. Were he now to react in accordance with his past custom, the first thing he would do would be to desert, but this would draw upon him serious punishment whereas if he remained in the army the chances were at least uncertain. Hence he continually lived in the situation which contained the strongest provocation to flight, but which, at the same time, offered him no simple method for realizing his desire. However, a day would come when suddenly, as the result of the explosion of a bomb or the violent death of a friend, or occasionally without any cause at all, he would sustain a wound which would solve his conflict. This was no physical injury. It did assume physical form but the body of this soldier was sufficiently healthy. Only he had become hysterical. We call this man a 'conversion hysteric' because he has converted the psychological inclination to flight into the physical symptom in which it comes to expression."

Another example of conversion hysteria is the case mentioned by Ferenczi of the soldier with chronic cramp of the left leg.

This man had once been climbing down very cautiously from a steep mountain in Serbia and had just put his left foot forward to seek some support when suddenly there was a tremendous explosion which sent him rolling down the mountain. The symptom of the conversion hysteria is, in this case as in every other, a compulsive attitude which, so to speak, maintains the nerve impulse dominant at the moment of the shock or accident.

The second group of war neuroses, or fear hysteria, was characterized by generalized tremor and disturbances of walking. This tremor set in when the patient made his first attempts to walk after a long rest cure which was presumed to have cured him of the complete paralysis he had had before. In all these cases it was a question of an overwhelming experience, a so-called psychic trauma, against the repetition of which the patient unconsciously sought to shield himself by manifesting terrific anxiety each time there seemed to be any danger of a recurrence of that painful experience. The inability to stand and walk was a certain method of preventing such experiences from recurring inasmuch as it made impossible any sort of movement. This anxiety, which came to expression also in nightmares, had even earlier come to be regarded as a typical symptom of "anxiety neuroses" in which group we must classify the second type of war neuroses.

While an attempt was made to deduce both types of war neuroses, on the one hand from mechanical injury or shock, and on the other from the experience of terror, the psychoanalysts and many physicians who were not members of this school, such as Nonne, Liepmann and Schuster, maintained the psychogenetic standpoint, according to which it was the psychological working over of affective experiences which induced the mental illness. This conception was the only one that could answer the question why only some of the men who had all undergone the same experiences and the same terrors would show neurotic reactions. According to this theory, neither the physical nor the spiritual trauma was decisive but only the personal and individual reaction. The psychoanalytic school attempted, therefore, to answer the question as to what sort of reaction was necessary in order to produce the morbid mental condition. The war neuroses were designated as typically narcissistic experiences. That is, the assumption was made that in all the psychopaths under consideration there was some injury to the ego, some wounding of self-love (of narcissism). The natural consequence of this injury to the ego was



AN AMERICAN RED CROSS POSTER WIDELY DISTRIBUTED IN FRANCE DURING THE WAR

the cessation of the ability to love anyone else than oneself, or, more technically, the diminution of the object-relationship of the libido. These students could point to cases in which the narcissistic retrogression had gone so far that patients behaved like little children; they prattled, desired to be caressed, etc. K. Abraham had a case where the patient behaved like a two-year-old child and continually muttered, "Mine, bums." This obviously a reversion to infantilism, which, in the language of psychoanalysis, was termed "regression."

These preliminary remarks were necessary in order to understand what follows concerning the relation between war neuroses and sexuality. Even though the narcissistic origin of war neuroses was not doubted by any of the psychoanalysts, they, nevertheless emphasized the strong participation of the sexual factor. Ferenczi has called our attention to the fact that many a shock, which in itself had nothing to do with the realm of the sexual, resulted in diminished sexual libido and even in impotence. It was not at all impossible that normal shocks should lead to neuroses by the way of sexual disturbances. Impotence, which seemed a trivial symptom of traumatic neuroses, not infrequently turned out to be

important when a fuller explanation of the patho-genesis of the malady had been revealed.

Abraham has emphasized the fact that war neuroses generally overtook men who in peace times were labile and uncertain in their sexual relationships with women, that is, men with diminished libido and potency. Among such men, who from youth have strong narcissistic components and libido fixation (that is they love themselves so much that it is impossible for them to achieve other than temporary relations with the opposite sex) traumatic—in the psychoanalytic jargon, narcissistic—neuroses occur quite easily.

The unconscious psychological process, which was reflected in the rise of neurotic disturbances during the war, leads us to the problem of stimulation. No matter how little doubt there was about the unconscious character of these processes, there were, nevertheless, physicians in every land who held that the patient, especially the neurotic ones, were personally responsible for their diseases. There was a shocking underestimation of the devastating psychological effects of the war. The attitude of many patriotic physicians to the hospital inmates and, especially to the unfortunates afflicted with tremors, forms another dark chapter in the history of the World War. The adage that "only a good man can be a good physician" was not always applicable during the war, for, very frequently, both at the conscription of the soldier and at his discharge from the hospital, the physician was frequently tied hand and foot by rules based entirely on military necessity. So in recruiting men for the army, the physician was required to declare a definite percentage of the applicants fit for war service; and similarly he was required to send back to the battlefield a certain definite proportion of patients under his care in the hospital. These abuses became chronic in the last years of the war because of the great dearth of soldiers among the Central powers. These conditions became so bad that German statistics for 1915 showed the following figures: Of all the soldiers treated in the hospital of the German home territories, 90.2 per cent were declared fit for continued service, 1.4 per cent died and 8.4 per cent remained unfit for service or were furloughed. Now it would be a very happy sign of the progress of medicine in Germany were these figures true, but, alas, the situation was quite otherwise.

These abuses, inhumanly dictated by the necessities of warfare, were fulfilled by the physicians assigned to the performance of these duties by the military authorities, and in many cases the

brutality of the medical men exceeded that of the military leaders. We might mention, as an example of this, the famous Kaufmann method, a sad remembrance of those dismal times, a consideration of which will round out our account of war neuroses. Since the ultimate ground for war neuroses is, as we have seen, to be sought in the individual psychological working over of experiences, it seemed natural to assume that these maladies could be dealt with by psychical methods of therapy. Thus Simmel solved the question of treatment in these cases by the use of psycho-catharsis or hypnosis, through which the patient was made aware of the circumstances which had caused his difficulties. As opposed to this, the Kaufmann method was, as its inventor himself designated it, a "surprise method" and proceeded in the following manner: Starting from the experience that very frequently innervations which had been torn from their proper paths by fright were frequently restored by renewed psychic fright, Kaufmann suggested the following elements of treatment: 1. suggestive preparations—emphasis of the fact that the treatment would be painful but that a complete cure would ensue as a result of the one sitting, and would remain permanent; 2. the use of strong alternating current accompanied by verbal suggestion; 3. strict maintenance of the military form, the use of the relation of subordination, and the issuing of suggestions in the form of commands as sharp and crisp as though they were being called out in a military camp; 4. the consequent forcing of the cure in one sitting.

It is well known how faithfully these rules were obeyed. Characteristic of the whole procedure is a case studied by Dr. Hirschfeld in which a soldier with a strong sadistic inclination greedily seized every opportunity to be present at such a séance. Although, in general, the relations between physician and patient were the same in all armies, Kaufmann's suggestions somehow found a greater number of admirers in the Austrian army than elsewhere. The psychoanalytic writer, Fritz Wittels, has given us a very clear picture of the brutality of these Austrian medicos who were addicted to the "Kaufmann technique," in his humorous war novel, *Zacharias Pamperl*:

"These gentry of the Vienna military hospitals used electrical machines of the sort that are used in America for murderers, and they tickled the defenders of the fatherland so long and so violently until they had no choice other than suicide or return to the battlefield. In addition, they injected emetics into these patients so

that these poor creatures spewed their very souls out of their body and preferred rather to die for their fatherland than live that nauseated tortuous existence. Maria Theresa abolished tortures, but the nerve doctors reintroduced them during the World War."

In the Austrian army, military and medical authorities were especially prone to see in every psychopath, especially such as had gotten into the hospitals, malingerers. In his great drama of the war, Karl Krauss has depicted a scene in the hospital which may seem exaggerated to us today but was certainly the brutal truth at that time. A group of men, including wounded and dying, together with a military physician, are gathered in one of the hospital wards. One of the chief physicians of the general staff suddenly enters and, with the utmost brusqueness and bluster, shouts out that now that all the malingerers are together he will be able to give them a piece of his mind. At these words a number of the patients manifest grave nervous symptoms. After bidding them remain quiet and make no demonstrations, he orders the younger physician to bring out the electrical apparatus, the better to detect the simulators. As the physician approaches some of the beds with the apparatus, a number of the patients get convulsions. The brutal physician-in-chief turns to one corner of the room and gives expression to the feeling that a particularly miserable patient lying there is guilty of lack of patriotism. This poor man, terrified out of his wits, thereupon begins to shriek. At this the chief inquisitor remarks that for creatures of this sort, there is only one cure, to put them all into a caisson and expose them to an unceasing rain of the enemy's fire. That, he opines, would put an end to their tremors, and with that he stalks out of the room, banging the door after him. At this last report one patient dies.

In view of these practices, it is not difficult to understand the horror with which the public reacted to the reports of the torture chambers of the psychiatric wards of the Viennese hospitals, which came to public expression in Vienna despite the vigilance of the military authorities. In a lecture on the subject of war neuroses to the public, Professor Schüller expressed the opinion that whenever a physician used active methods and exercised pressure upon a patient to elicit from him a statement relative to his readiness to return to the front, such action proceeded from the mistaken view that the goal of treatment was in every case the restoration of fitness for military service. The primary duty of physicians, Professor Schüller reminded his audience, was the restoration to the

neurotic of such a degree of health as would enable him to make his way about in the world and also to return to military service. Schüller denied, however, that there was any truth in the accusation that neurologists were always seeing illustrations of soldiering and asserted that the best proof of the innocence of the physicians in these matters was the small number of court cases for malingering; moreover, he insisted that if neurologists were so bent on finding malingerers everywhere they wouldn't have had to resort to the use of the Kaufmann method. At the same time he strongly condemned the Kaufmann method as a fake device which did not cure but rather substituted one disease for another. Dr. Kurt Mendel was much more courageous and wrote that sick soldiers were not to be treated like uncouth children, since physicians were not officers and hospitals not garrisons. It is interesting to relate that the worthy psychiatrist later regretted his very righteous indignation on this matter and stated literally, *Pater, peccavi*.

There were two other treatments available for war neuroses. The first, introduced by O. Muck, was scarcely more gentle than that of Kaufmann. Those patients who had fallen a prey to ophonia, that is, who had lost their voices as a result of a nervous disturbance, had inserted into their larynx a metal ball about one centimeter in diameter. This had the effect of bringing out the patient's cry of terror before it was smothered within him. The second method employed the device of making the patient think he was going to be operated on and actually administering an anesthetic to him, but, of course, no operation was performed. It appeared that this last method, which was comparatively humane, did achieve a considerable measure of success with its suggestive methods. But the most radical cure for these victims of the war was brought by peace. In an essay concerning the ending of the war and the general question of neuroses, K. Singer remarked that as soon as peace came, the tremendous tension of these patients was ended. The reaction was a violent one and had the effect of an emotional shock. Peace became the best Kaufmannizing of the soul without any electricity, and was the most brilliant solution by a quasi-suggestive method without any real suggestion. It seems unbelievable that voices were raised against the giving to neurotics of certificates indicating that they had been wounded; and B. C. Loewy even stated that such a procedure would not be justified morally.

To conclude this whole question of malingering, let us state that the search for shirkers was not altogether unjustified, despite the

fact that there seemed to be few cases of actual simulation during the war. Only rarely did the soldier rely upon his own ability to simulate. Much more frequently, however, he took definite steps to acquire a disease or to injure himself in one way or another. More often than was known, suicide made its appearance as a welcome salvation from a hero's death, and it appears to have been particularly widespread in the English army. Yet cases of this sort were not unknown in the Austrian army. One, reported in a Vienna medical weekly, told of a twenty-seven-year-old soldier who had swallowed a key and a spoon with suicidal intent. To this group also belonged those men who refused to be operated upon, individuals who, as Finsterer demonstrated, achieved the same results by their inactivity as those who inflicted injuries upon themselves—the possibility of escaping service at the front. It is noteworthy, however, that while those who inflicted actual injuries on themselves were punishable, sometimes by death, a man's refusal to give his permission for an operation that was necessary was not punishable, and was even justified by the law. But, as a matter of fact, this rule stating that a man could be operated on only after he had given his consent, (such consent was also necessary for the amputation of a limb) was sometimes violated, especially in the case of common soldiers.

The practice of inflicting injuries upon oneself was common in every army. Egon Erwin Kisch has preserved for us one such incident where three men who had injured themselves were led into a division court trembling with cold and pain. One of them had shattered his left wrist, a second had shot off two fingers, and the third had shot his left shoulder. All three were bleeding profusely through the crude bandages which they had applied themselves. There was no defense that these men could make before the court inasmuch as the shots were all on the left side of the body and hence accessible to their own firearms; furthermore, the wounds showed powder-burns, typical in cases where the shot has been fired at close range. In Serbia it was much easier, for there one had only to lift a hand out of the trench for when one sustained an injury to the fingers, it was considered an honorable wound. When these people wished to inflict gun wounds upon themselves, they carefully placed a handkerchief dipped in wine over the area they were going to shoot. This precaution conceals all powder-burns.

Often these self-injuries consisted in willingly exposing oneself to a contagious disease. Even English girls who had been driven

across the channel by the patriotism of their parents and had discovered, when they arrived at the front and begun to serve as nurses and chauffeurs and auxiliaries, that war was not the delightful game it had been cracked up to be, resorted to such practices. Thus Helen Zenna Smith informed us that one of the girl drivers of her company was suddenly stricken with a dangerous form of measles. She had acquired this disease in some mysterious way. Four of her comrades, who knew very well what was the trouble with their friend, crept into her flea sack before it had been disinfected, in the hope of getting the infection which would mean hospitalization and a chance to sleep and rest for a few weeks.

To the thoroughness of Professor Exner's investigation we owe a detailed list of the forms of self-injury common in the Austrian army, a list which is a tragic reflection on the inhumanity of war. The following are some of the injuries inflicted by the soldiers upon themselves to escape military service: artificially produced hernia, irritations and inflammations of the skin, scalding, with resulting inflammation, artificially produced eczema, jaundice (through picric acid), inflammation of the eyes, inflammation and infection of the external ear and of the urethra (through foreign bodies), naïve simulation of gonorrhœa through soapsuds, purposeful transfer to oneself of trachoma and gonorrhœa, inflammations of the kidney and bladder, frostbites and freezing, swelling of limbs (through tight lacing or ligation), insertion of needles into limbs, hemorrhoids (through drastic purgatives and local irritants), and by preventing the healing process through irritation of the sick area.

In these tables of Dr. Exner, concerning the self-infliction of wounds or diseases, an inordinately large part is played by venereal diseases. In view of the relations which existed everywhere behind the front and at the halting-stations, it was comparatively easy to obtain an infection of this sort and very frequent use was made of this opportunity. It need not be emphasized that this type of self-injury was dangerous, as has been shown in the chapter on venereal diseases. Among every army, but particularly among the Austrians, this conduct was punished whenever it was discovered and, from the point of view of the military authorities, not unjustifiably. However, these penalties did not accomplish their purpose and as the war was prolonged the number of cases of self-inflicted venereal diseases increased rather than diminished. It was a matter of indifference in these cases whether the infection had been derived from a woman or from a comrade. In Koppen's *Army Report* we find a

very amusing description of the trial of a soldier who had sinned in this regard. Major Klemper was chairman of the court and the accused was Rodnick, a cannoneer. The following conversation ensued:

Major K.: "Tell us just what happened."

The accused remained silent.

Major K.: "Well, then are we to assume that you cohabited with this woman in spite of the fact that you knew she was venereally diseased?"

Rod.: "If you please, Herr Major, no."

Major K.: "What do you mean, no, you didn't do it or you didn't know?"

Rod.: "I wasn't acquainted with the girl."

Gen. S.: "Rodnick, if you are going to lie I'm going to incarcerate you at once. Here, Major, is a report from the division physician certifying that this man has a severe gonorrhoea."

Major K.: "Do you want me to believe, you rascal, that you got all this from playing with that girl? If you don't tell me the truth you're going to prison at once. Now where did you get that gonorrhoea?"

Rod.: "In a hospital."

Gen. S.: "That's a lie! You were never there."

Rod.: "No, general—but here—from that place."

Gen. S.: "Now, Rodnick, don't talk nonsense. You know me well enough to talk to me. I will not be deceived, so, in your own interest, tell me the story."

Rod.: "I bought it. . . ."

Major K.: "Bought what? The girl?"

Rod.: "No, Herr Major, gonorrhoea. From an infantryman. But others did it, too. This fellow was sick with gonorrhoea—and if you gave him a mark he would sell you a little bit—a little bit of pus. And if you smeared this on at once . . ."

Gen. S.: "You say others did this, too? How many more in your battery?"

Rod.: "When I was there, there were five more."

In conclusion we quote a small selection from one of the best German war books, Frey's *Plasterboxes*:

"That fellow Köbisch had a perfect case of gonorrhoea and had to go to the hospital. Where had he got it? It was necessary to know this in order to stamp out the infection. Köbisch had too little imagination to invent a momentary embrace in some hidden

corner. What is more, such a yarn would have been impossible for the regiment had not been anywhere near women for a long time. Hence, driven into a tight place, the poor fellow had to admit that he had gotten it from another chap who had returned from a furlough the previous week. Before this furloughed soldier, laden with all the toxins of the big city, had been assigned to a hospital, he had given Köbisch, in return for two marks, a bit of his gonorrhœal flux wherewith the latter had anointed his organ. . . . A very popular procedure was the production of a physical condition which would cause the physician to suspect the existence of a fresh lues. In some way this information had leaked out to the troops from a hospital and many men knew how to induce the irritation that looked like a fresh lues. A pastille of corrosive sublimate was placed under the prepuce. This caused terrific pain and in a very short time a strong inflammation appeared which caused the physician to send back to the hinterland these men whose genitals appeared syphilitic. The terrific pains were worth it, because as a result, one was able to have a few weeks of rest and leisure and to escape the dangers of war. There was a very lively traffic carried on with these pills and men tried to obtain them in any way possible—by stealing, buying or having them sent from home.”

In this connection something should be said concerning life in the hospital. We have already considered this question, insofar as it is related to the history of morals, in the chapter on nurses. Certainly the inmates of the hospitals, even in those cases where they achieved some measure of healing, were not the most enviable of the creatures who stood behind the battle lines. Behind the romanticism of hospital loves and marriages with nurses (which were frequently due to a far from romantic cause, inasmuch as unmarried patients were much more likely to be sent back to the battlefield than married ones), behind this whole deceptive façade there were concealed the most terrible pains which human beings had inflicted upon each other. Added to that, there was the special martyrdom of the military hospital where the inmate, despite the fact that he was sick or wounded, did not cease to be a soldier. The military division of rank was maintained in the hospital ward and even came to expression in the matter of treatment. The common soldier was, in this regard also, merely one of the mass whose treatment was just as unvarying as the uniform that he wore. So, for example, among the Americans, morphine was given to soldiers

who complained of pains and after the patient had gotten his injection there was painted upon his forehead "M" (morphine) to insure that he would not receive more than the dose assigned for the common soldier. In the Austrian hospitals, only the officers were entitled to have their pains eased by the application of morphine. There was also the uniform use of the cheap surgical panacea, iodine.

The whole hospital, with all the romanticism that has been conjured up about it and the real misery contained within, was continually shadowed by death. From it a way generally led directly, or indirectly through the return to the battlefield, to the cemetery. The hospital returned to life only such people who had left their limbs or their health behind its walls.

Chapter 13

SEX LIFE OF WAR PRISONERS

Woman and the Prisoners-of-War—Revenge for the Blockade—Refined Destruction of War Prisoners—Sadism Triumphant—Effects of Sex Hunger—Significance as a Mass Phenomenon—Love Among War Prisoners—Their Wives Back Home—Sex Exploitation of War Prisoners—Prevalence of Masturbation—Other Substitute Satisfaction—Homosexual Intercourse—Female Impersonators as Mistresses

THE inhumanity of war finds its expression not only in the casualty lists, but also in the millions of war prisoners who for years led an existence more or less miserable. It is true that to be a prisoner-of-war meant that one was removed from the direct danger of war at the front, but to make up for that one was exposed to other and scarcely lighter dangers to health and life. Generally these victims of the war had to pay very dearly for the fact that they remained behind the bloody scene of front operations. We cannot take up here in any detail the ineffable sufferings of millions of war prisoners whose experiences fill whole departments of the extensive literature of the war. Suffice it to say that the innumerable cruelties which, for political reasons, were during the war perpetrated against hundreds of thousands of these unfortunate men, cannot be regarded as accidents or exceptions, but as an institution which follows logically from the nature of war. This institutional abuse of millions is an undeniable sadistic trait of a society that wages war. In every land myriads were swept away by epidemics which could have been prevented or controlled. As a result of the unexpectedly protracted duration of the war and the equally unexpected size of the contingent of prisoners, all the humane prescriptions of international law, which pre-war pacifism had done so much to establish, proved to be completely illusory. In every land, a policy of destruction was exercised against the masses of the prisoners-of-war; but it remained for a German economist, whose name we had better cover with silence, to espouse the systematic destruction of war prisoners as the only possible answer to the blockade enforced by the Allies against Germany. In addition to the whole institution which has a mass murder character, there was no lack of single instances, which showed all the earmarks of sadistic cruelty. The prisoners-of-war were completely at the mercy of the military authorities or such persons as the latter might have appointed, and they were completely exposed to the tender mercy

of the enemy who now had them in his power. It cannot be wondered at, therefore, that this utter dependence, this veritable slavery induced by the war, which is even a step beyond the customary relationship of subordination that obtains in all armies, released all the sadistic instincts of the modern slave holders, very frequently raw and ignorant soldiers who were free to dispose of the lives of their slaves. Today it is no longer possible to state how many of those whose bones now moulder in foreign soil, fell a victim to such sadists intoxicated with the consciousness of power.

The question that concerns us most is the one related to the sexual life of the prisoners. As might be expected, there was a tremendous sexual starvation raging wherever groups of men had been living for a long time away from women and without any possibility of intercourse with the opposite sex. The consequences were the same as appear in normal times as a result of imprisonment and which have become known to large groups of people since the end of the war; thanks to the frequent literary treatment of this problem (as in Jakob Wasserman's masterful, *The Case Maurizius*) but especially through the work of Karl Plättner and the film, *Sex in Chains*, issued by the *German League for Human Rights*. Still, there were two factors which differentiated the civilian prisoners in peace times from the war prisoners. While it was true that both groups were robbed of the opportunity of normal sexual living, the numbers of men affected during the war were enormous. In Russia alone, there were over two million men of the Central powers who suffered from sex hunger for longer or shorter periods of time. A second consequence was that inasmuch as sex hunger was now a mass phenomenon, it lost all moral justification with which public opinion had been wont to help itself out in the case of prisoners during peace time: that since the prisoners were anti-social, dangerous men, criminals in short, there was certainly no need to worry about whatever sufferings might come to them from sex hunger; indeed, the latter could be considered a part of the deserved punishment.

Since imprisonment during the war was not a novelty but only magnified the consequences previously known to an enormous degree and in a way which did not permit of any moral justification, we wish to deal briefly with a few of the most typical factors and to illustrate them with examples from literature and private communications.

For those prisoners-of-war who did not live in concentration

camps and enjoyed a relative degree of freedom and work, there was naturally no sex hunger. This was especially the case in the Central states which made use of the work power of their prisoners in order to release every one of their own men for fighting duty, and in Russia. The relations of the prisoners in these lands and in certain cases in the other lands as well, belongs to the theme on love among war prisoners, which we have already considered. It may be asserted that in these cases there came to expression much more the sex hunger of the enemy soldiers' wives than that of the prisoners-of-war. As an example of this sort we may mention a report from the Austrian countryside, printed in the papers of Innesbruck during 1915, which dealt with the amorous escapades of Austrian women with Russian prisoners-of-war. In certain towns these prisoners confessed that these women had made up to the Russian prisoners-of-war in a way that argued a complete lack of any sense of shame. The physician of the large Russian barracks at Wennis, a Dr. Jenschitz, protested against the accusation that had been leveled against the morality of the Russian soldiers and asserted, contrariwise, that it was impossible to restrain the women of Wennis from tearing into the barracks at night; and that in many cases the Russian soldiers had proved themselves morally superior to these women. Moreover, the chaplain of a district near Wennis publicly expressed his chagrin at the fact that many of the girls who had formerly gone to his school were now consorting with the foreign soldiers.

The same conclusions about the love experiences of prisoners-of-war can be derived from a German publication which produced a sensation upon its appearance, *Woman and Prisoners-of-War*. In the Allied territories, where German and Austrian prisoners were much more carefully guarded and nearly always held in closed barracks, the relations of native women to these prisoners were much less common, but by no means unknown. This pamphlet asserted that while German prisoners were treated with considerable brutality in France, they were extraordinarily welcome to the passionate French woman for whom the absence of normal sex intercourse was a source of considerable pain. In the vast majority of cases, according to the testimony of most of these war prisoners, the French woman was only concerned with the merciless physical exploitation of the German war prisoner in a sexual way. Despite the fact that the English authorities adopted very strict measures, there were numerous possibilities for striking up acquaintances;

and the soft-heartedness of many camp commandants afforded ample room for intimate relationships. Naturally such things could not be cultivated inside of the concentration camps, but on the other side of the wire fence, English girls would frequently be at hand despite all the prohibitions against it, to watch the German soldiers at their games, to listen to their music, or to hear their yearning folk songs. When these soldiers were detailed to various agricultural duties, love relations very frequently developed. Generally the English sentries had but little sympathy for this inclination on the part of their sisters who were showing far less than the proper degree of patriotism. A goodly streak of jealousy made these soldiers hard and inconsiderate so that very frequently they brought public accusation against such girls. This sometimes resulted in prison sentences for these girls.

Though these phenomena differ in their extent, they are everywhere analogous and point to one definite and clear-cut reason. The love shown to prisoners-of-war by enemy women was due to the sex starvation of the women of every land caused by the absence of men. Stekel's attempt to explain this phenomenon in purely psychological terms as a decisive turning away on the part of women from the masculine conception of war is, to say the least, exaggerated, especially when we consider the almost maniacal enthusiasm for war evinced by the women of every land. Still, it cannot be doubted that the love shown by these women to the prisoners-of-war did have an influence in the direction of peace. This manifests why the military and civil authorities were so concerned to oppress such alliances. Their functions were to sustain the enthusiasm for war. There is much truth in the following statement of Koppen:

"Despite the prohibitions, when evening came, human beings could be found lying in the frozen woods near the city, in abandoned huts and in stables, with their bodies pressed close to each other, hungry for a bit of tenderness. There was a German woman and a French man, a German woman and an Englishman, Russian or Negro. For a few seconds there was no war, no fatherland, no German, French, English nor Russian; for a few seconds the murder machine stopped, for a few seconds there was a German woman and a man whose language she did not understand, and they were to each other simply man and woman."

But we have already considered the love life of the woman during war and we wish to turn now to the sex hunger of the prisoners-

of-war. This condition was everywhere to be found where intercourse with the civil population was difficult or impossible and this was true even of certain areas of Russia, for the treatment of war prisoners there was by no means uniform. Whereas in Turkestan and at the Persian boundary the officers of the Central powers were very welcome in Russian society, in Siberia the civil population was prohibited from even speaking to the prisoners-of-war and severe punishments were threatened for infractions of this law. But no matter how closely these barbed wire concentration camps were guarded, there are always ways and means of procuring a woman. The officers could, of course, bribe their guards, and under the pretense of having to make certain necessary purchases, would be conveyed to the nearest city where there were bath houses and *Stundenhotels* available. In other cases, women were put into water barrels or were disguised as sentries and smuggled in that way; after they had once gotten in they would remain in the camp for several days. Dwinger has reported a Russian camp commandant by being turned over to the whole company of six hundred men. This does not appear to have been a rare case. Elsewhere, as for example, on the Chinese border, some enterprising fellows erected dirty little brothels on the edge of the encampments. The inmates were Chinese, Mongolian or Tartar women, who imparted to their guests, among other things, the particularly feared Siberian lues. Another possibility of coming into contact with women was afforded by the hospitals for prisoners-of-war. It was held to be particularly true of Russian nurses (and also of the English) that they were very willing to enter into intimate relations with their prisoner patients. Everybody knows how fond the Russian woman, especially of the educated classes—and these nurses were practically all recruited from these classes and from the nobility—were of the West Europeans in general. Hence it is quite credible that Breitner's report was true when he asserted that all the nurses of a hospital for war prisoners in which he was working, were pregnant after the first year of the war.

Where the possibilities of normal intercourse were lacking over a long period of time, the sex hunger of the war prisoners assumed terrifying proportions. In the very center of the idle, almost comatose existence of the camp stood sexuality and women about whom all conversations, dreams and thoughts revolved. Dwinger, whose wonderful book, *The Army Behind Barbed Wire*, has given the

most living and reliable account of these matters in the most artistic way, has described these conditions in the following manner:

"I once believed that in a concentration camp for prisoners the chief concern should be to maintain the bodily health of prisoners; but I learnt that spiritual corruption was not only more dangerous but also more difficult to combat. What was left to us? Nothing besides imagination. . . . That was our green wood, our refuge. . . . But this forest was always peopled by girls. Whatever we spoke or dreamt about always revolved about that for which we were most hungry, namely, woman. More and more our imagination became inflamed. The natural things no longer sufficed and even satisfaction was no longer able to extinguish the fire within us which blazed the hotter the more impossible it was for us to realize any of the fantasies which swarmed through our brain. . . . Some began to relate dreams that they had had of rape, and others spoke of the most monstrous abnormalities. If the first woman who will fall to our lot after this time will not be able to heal and cool us wisely and lovingly, we shall remain abnormal for our whole life, and our homeland will be flooded by an ocean of perversity."

The temptation to onanism was naturally greatest when the prisoner not only inflamed his imagination with thoughts and conversations, but also had the opportunity of seeing women, whether from near or far, and had no other way of getting release from his sexual tension. A simple soldier who was once a war prisoner of Italy wrote us that he had much less difficulty in fighting with his sexual hunger as a soldier than in his imprisonment, because in the latter condition he was constantly able to see pretty women but always prevented from having any contact with them. This man's communication to us contains a most illuminating account of how he became an onanist during his imprisonment. One day a detachment was commandeered to perform some work at Piave di Tecco. While they were in the city, he saw a very pretty girl of about seventeen riding on a donkey and admired her greatly as did his comrades. That night he was unable to sleep and again and again his thoughts reverted to that pretty girl. He tossed from side to side but was unable to find rest. "When midnight came I was still awake and suddenly during my tossing I turned on my stomach for a moment. A convulsive feeling came over me, my senses began to spin. Wildly I tore a hole in the straw sack, all the while thinking of that girl. Soon I fell into a deep sleep. The next day I observed that my organ was lacerated from the stiff straw. I re-

proached myself furiously for this piece of adolescent folly but to no avail. Several weeks later I saw a pretty seamstress and the same thing happened again. Finally onanism became a habit with me."

Naturally, in this sultry atmosphere of onanism imposed by the complete deprivation of normal sex outlets, all shame went by the board. This is made abundantly clear in the following communication:

"During the winter we were without work for a number of weeks. Every morning we arose with the outward signs of passion, but no one knew what to do about it. Many of the boys slept only in their shirts, so that frequently one would jokingly pull up the shirt of his comrade, and make free with one another in this state of semi-nudity, amid the general laughter. One evening the youngest of the boys said to his companion, a married man, 'Hey, how was it when you first slept with your wife?' And he went on to add that he himself had never had anything to do with women. Immediately his comrades fell upon him, undressed him and abused his genitals. The sentries came running in answer to his cries, but when they saw what was happening they joined in the laughter."

Erotic conversations of this sort, which frequently went on for years, had been used by Leonhard Frank as material for his unforgettable work, *Karl and Anna*. With deeply moving power and profound knowledge of the human soul, the author constructs a tragedy from the conversations between two prisoners-of-war, one of whom falls in love with the wife of the other as the result of tales told by her husband concerning her; and later on, when this friend is released from prison before the husband, he goes to that woman and takes the place of her husband until his return. That the plot of Frank's book is psychologically possible is proven by a similar case in Dwinger. Here a lieutenant who was conversing with the author drew out a photograph of a girl and showed it to him. The latter asked whether the woman was the lieutenant's wife and was informed that he did not even know her but that she was the bride of a comrade who had died of typhus. However, he went on to explain, it was now his intention to marry her when he got home and for two years now he had been dreaming of this girl.

Among the other substitute satisfactions we must mention the "graphic projections." How much that was drawn or painted in prison had an erotic note appears from the following observations of Breitner, based on a knowledge of the pictures produced by prisoners-of-war in their camp at Beresowka:

“It is astounding how little productivity the imprisonment released. What little there was remained entirely in the realm of the erotic. This merely establishes the potencies of the latter which stand in reciprocal relation to the creative impotence of the artist. Spiritual life is able to draw creative passion from other than physical regions. But in our condition body and soul quivered continually under the lash of monkhood, and we incessantly experienced the bitter truth that ‘passion is the dowry of woman.’ That the spirit yearned for what was denied to the body; that the creative fictitious substitute did nothing more than purvey the hotly desired lap of the absent original, seems to me to be proof that all primary passion belongs to the genius of the sexual. Creative happiness in the vestments of sexual lust is for the artist, who is compelled to live in a celibacy he chafes under, the first and most readily available flight to lust.”

A very common form of substitute satisfaction was homosexual intercourse. In all the varied forms which sexual relations assumed among prisoners-of-war one thing remained certain: that in these groups there was always one real urning, whereas in other groups sex hunger might lead to pseudo-homosexual practices. In some cases a weak homosexual component might have become released owing to the same causes. According to Hirschfeld’s notion, pseudo-homosexual intercourse is to be compared to ipsation or onanism, indeed is to be regarded as a variety of the latter, and hence the question whether the one or the other sort of substitute satisfaction predominated in the war prisons is only of theoretic importance. In general it is worth noting that the repugnance of prisoners-of-war to homoerotic intercourse, who at the beginning preferred onanism to the pseudo-homosexual substitute, decreased as the years went by. In this sense homosexuality in the prisoners’ camps may be regarded as contagious although, as has been said, it is of very little significance practically which of the two types of self-satisfaction is employed.

One reason for the gradual loss of antipathy to homoerotic love was the influence of the war prisoners’ theater. Dr. Arthur Munk, whose diary of his Russian captivity contains a number of very interesting insights, has recorded the following concerning the relation between homosexuality and theatricals: “The love life of prisoners increased tremendously during 1916. In every one of the larger officers’ camps large theaters were established. It was soon found that of all dramatic works, operettas exercised the greatest

attraction. Naturally women's rôles were everywhere played by the younger officers. In these crude theaters the same intrigues were enacted as behind the boards of a metropolitan temple of the muses. The prima donnas soon found themselves surrounded by many admirers who bestowed upon them all sorts of presents: face powders, rouge, perfume, candy and jewels. In general there was little to criticize in the manner of life of these prima donnas. They led a fairly decent life. Much worse, however, were the soldier actresses of second rank and the male chorus girls who were less interested in really serious work and who, moreover, were paid very little. So it came about that officers of homosexual constitution rewarded a handclasp or a smile of these artists with luxurious banquets. Those who distinguished themselves most in this connection were the Turkish officers who heaped fabulous favors upon these soldier-actresses and who suffered most from sexual abstinence in their imprisonment. There arose veritable love triangles with scandals just as in peace times. Life in the encampment, even without these theatricals, had brought officers together in pairs. Every prisoner had his own bosom friend with whom he shared his thoughts, his money, his underwear. These pairs were always together, walked and slept together, and when they behaved discreetly they aroused no displeasure or antipathy. But the older militia officers who had had an ethical and religious education were very much disturbed when they saw these male actresses promenading with their admirers in full view of the whole camp. Among the dancers and other dramatic personnel, there were some who actually had themselves supported by their admirers and practiced all the tricks of male prostitution in order to live at the cost of their worshipers."

The predilection which these female impersonators in the war prisoners' theaters had for pretty female costumes has been depicted for us by innumerable soldiers. The joy evinced by them when they received a new female toilette leads us to conclude that in these cases we are certainly dealing with transvestitism. In many cases these actresses were not only distinguished by a homosexual constitution but also by an unmistakable transvestitism which sought satisfaction in the way just described.

For millions of men, deprived of their freedom for many years, onanism and homosexual intercourse were the only possibilities of sexual expression; and we must add, to the frightful debit list of the war, the injuries to health, the unspeakable sufferings of these war

prisoners, as well as the coldly calculated mass murder of hundreds of thousands of these helpless men. Those who survived their imprisonment are even today, for the most part, psychic invalids as a result of the morbid stamp that those years impressed upon their sex life. If these few instances that we have cited are not sufficient to establish the intensity and scope of the sexual deprivations and the miserable substitutes for a healthy sex life as the central problem of war imprisonment, we may adduce the testimony of Burg-hard Breitner with which we will conclude this chapter:

“It is unquestionably more correct to seek the root of every spiritual happening and every emotional experience in sex than to seek to deny this connection. . . . Whatever I noted in the prison, with whomsoever I spoke, everywhere the need of sex hovered over everything and everyone. Political convictions disappeared, views and opinions, which had long agitated us, suddenly became meaningless, lethargy and chaos became sisters. Nothing remained. The problem of sex has survived war and imprisonment.”

Part Three

Chapter 14

AMATORY ADVENTURES OF FEMALE SPIES

Women in Secret Service—Erotic Espionage—Redl and His Homo-Erotic Youths—Adventures of a Zoo-Sadist with a Spy—Prince Udo and his Lost Documents—Victims, Drunk and Drugged—Brothel Inmates an Important Link—Love Conquers Espionage—Amorous Dangers of Espionage—Venal Love Life of Women Spies—"The Turkish Delight"—On Payroll of Every Nation—Berne, a Hot-Bed of Erotic Intrigue—The Insulted Husband Trick—The Case of the Fräulein Doctor—From Washer-Woman to Princess—The Strange Story of Innocentia—The Double Sex of the Most Beautiful Spy—Mystery of the Useless Gas Masks—Spies as Mistresses—Execution Intrigues—True Story of Mata Hari—Mata Hari's Famous Lovers—Professional Adventuresses and Cocottes—Hazardous Exploits of Female Spies—Their Stange Deaths

THE connection between eroticism and espionage, with which the following data from the pen of Dr. J. R. Spinner is concerned, is one that has existed since Catherine of Medici.

In essence erotic espionage has remained the same and woman has continued to play a certain rôle which must not be overestimated. Among a hundred thousand women it will not be possible to find more than one really efficient spy, but every third woman is able to render minor services—to assemble, so to speak, little pebbles of espionage and haul them from place to place. Strangely enough, the excellence of a woman spy stands in inverse relationship to the strength of her own eroticism and for this reason the best women spies were nearly always grandes cocottes, mondaines and demi-mondaines who had gone through the mill. These women all bore names of great repute which were changed as often as the occasion demanded it. The ideal type of a woman spy is the Hollywood cultivated "film vamp"—cold, egoistic, and revengeful, who never sees anything in man but an object of exploitation, but who, at the same time, exerts a demoniac attraction upon him; women, in short, who never lose their hearts or their judgment, and for whom the titillation of amorous adventure represents an indifferent professional gesture. These women are able to strip from the man everything he owns in the way of money and valuable secrets.

We may debate for hours concerning the morality of espionage but one simply cannot get away from the fact that it plays an

enormous part in peace and war. The shooting or hanging of spies is therefore a military procedure which reminds one strongly of the medieval murders of prisoners-of-war. War spies had to be shot, or slain in some other way, in order to discourage others.

The object of espionage is to find out about the enemy what he is trying to conceal. In order to get possession of the desired documents or photographs, a preliminary investigation of the personnel and the place which have to be worked with is made. Then plans are drawn as to the best method of getting the secrets. If, as a result of this preliminary investigation of a military official, it turns out that he is amenable to erotic adventures, then a woman, calculated to suit his taste, is thrown his way. This woman is expected to develop a liaison with the military official with the express purpose of extracting the secret or required document. This is one of the chief functions of the great erotically active pre-war spies, and this also enables us to understand the character of the grande cocotte who plies her trade at famous baths, race tracks, gambling institutions, international resorts, etc., whenever she is not on a special mission. These ladies are able to sift the wheat from the chaff and have no objection to giving themselves to harmless erotic adventures if these can prove profitable. The battlefield of these women fighters is the great French bed. They contribute the erotic ties—the amorous escapade into which they have drawn the military official keeps him fixed to a certain place and makes him lose valuable time. Very frequently they have to do nothing beyond keeping him “busy” while other operatives contrive to strip him of his valuable information.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the pre-war women spies were, for the most part, singers, dancers, acrobats, etc. Especially in Russia, female espionage was valued because the Czar's officers, from the Grand Duke down to the lowest paymaster, had a weakness for foreign women. If any artiste had “arrived” so that a male public would always stream to her and she would never have a dearth of men, no matter where she went, an offer would almost always be made to this woman by some country to become one of its spies. Let us not forget that Mata Hari was a German spy before the war, and in certain cases it was only necessary for a woman to have a large circle of acquaintances for such an offer to be made to her, for through her, the foreign governments planned to obtain contacts with the necessary personalities; this was especially true when the woman held a salon. These conditions were

found in Paris, London, Bucharest and Athens, and long before the war adventuresses of all sorts strayed through various lands prepared for anything.

The experience of many centuries had accustomed us to reckon sexuality as an extremely important factor in espionage; but the World War brought an enormous increase in this as in so many other conditions that we have noted. Practically all authorities are agreed that essentially woman is not fitted for espionage, despite the fact that she has a much finer instinct, greater adaptability and keener powers of observation than men. Thus one expert in espionage has written the following about his women colleagues: "It is difficult to find a woman who in addition to all other qualifications of beauty, worldliness, elegance and intelligence, also has that soullessness and unscrupulousness which alone can guarantee success to a spy. Before women can be thoroughly trained in this metier one must kill in them every feeling of love, for when a woman loves truly she forgets everything and betrays everything for that love."

This man has seen clearly the great danger of erotic emotion, but even an unimportant love episode, in which the woman spy is not engaged with all her heart and soul, can suffice to interfere with her efficacy and prevent her from using the opportunity she possesses. Of course the same mistake was made by male spies who not infrequently fell into the net spread for them by women. But this much is certain: that woman lacks completely any understanding of strategical matters and she must always, as it were, be led along the line, and perform special missions only when the route has been mapped out for her. To be sure, once she has entered the matter she will proceed with the necessary interest. Hence, it happened that during the World War, women spies actually accomplished very important missions in which they showed much independence, initiative and ability. The great spies were not caught. Neither Mata Hari nor Miss Cavell, to mention the most famous, were really great representatives of their calling. Mata Hari always remained a great dilettante for whom espionage was merely an avocation from her calling of professional love, whereas Cavell was primarily concerned with smuggling human beings but not with the service of reporting messages. Her case has nothing to do with eroticism and she never had the need to use eroticism.

It must not be assumed that whenever a woman entered espio-

nage, eroticism was always involved. Homosexual love was also employed in espionage, the most famous case of this sort being that of Redl. Alfred Redl, a Czech by birth, may be accounted as one of those who helped dig the grave of the Austrian empire, for throughout many years, while he was ostensibly at the head of the Austrian espionage system, he was at the same time a spy in the service of Russia and sold to this country the most important Austrian plans, including the marching plans in case of war. For many years before he entered the service of the Czar, the Russian authorities had thrown the most seductive women in his way, without success; Redl simply did not notice them. However, a Russian agent finally succeeded in ascertaining that Redl was a homosexual, and from that time on, the Russians littered Redl's path with very attractive homoerotic youths. Their new plan succeeded, and Redl entered into relations with some of these men. Now the Russian authorities were in the position where Redl just had to capitulate or disappear from life: they threatened to expose his aberration. The Russian agent read him a catalog of his sins, accumulated as a result of diligent inquiry and observation, and the greedy Redl, terrified by the prospect of the scandal that would ensue and also attracted by the substantial rewards dangled before his eyes, capitulated and became a perfectly slavish tool of Russia. In a way, it can certainly be said that the persecution of homosexuality contributed to digging a grave for the Central powers—for if Redl had not feared to have the secret of his weakness made public, he would not have betrayed his country so grievously. A year before the outbreak of the war, the Russians were in complete possession of the marching plans of the Austrian empire and even of some of the German schemes. In order to cover up his tracks, Redl had to perform a number of criminal acts which included the denunciation of some of his own innocent subordinates, which crimes were not revealed until long after the war had started. When a Russian officer eluded Redl and sold the Russian plan of march to Archduke Franz Ferdinand directly, he was promptly betrayed by Redl to the Russians and had to commit suicide. Never did a spy produce greater disorder in the spying systems and activities of two nations than Redl did before the war. As he danced on the volcano, he continued to live a luxurious life with his favorites. Only through an accident were his nefarious practices revealed. Once he was assigned to command a battalion; and while he was away his office was raided and the "black cabinet" confiscated a number of sus-

picious letters. Redl, who had come back for some of these letters, was followed by the criminal police. He sought to destroy the documents which he had on his body but it was too late. That night high officials came to his hotel room and, after a brief consultation, they departed leaving a revolver behind them. The next morning Redl was found shot.

This case is a prototype of espionage tactics but it is almost a monument to unreasonableness in sexual morality. It may sound like an exaggeration to say that the World War was lost as a result of Paragraph 175 of the legal code, but there was certainly some truth in the assertion. Would Redl have found it necessary to sell himself to Russia if his sexual life, his erotic self-expression had not, according to the opinion of his time, been regarded as criminal? If sexual life in itself were not regarded as infamous it would not lead so frequently to blackmail. If Redl had had a weakness for little girls he would have been blackmailed for this too. In this way eroticism, and especially aberrant eroticism, is an organic part of espionage activities; erotic blackmail is an integral part of strategic reports that spies have to render concerning important people. The purpose of the whole activity is to create a situation which will render the person in question helpless through a knowledge of his sexual peculiarities. Let me give an example of this from the first period of the World War:

Even before the war, France and Italy had concluded a special agreement based on Italy's treachery to the Triple Alliance and entailing the removal of French troops from the Italian boundary to the Western front. Pichon met the Italian Marquis J. at Aix-le-Bains for a conference. England was not invited to this meeting but the Intelligence Service knew of it and determined to find out what had been decided at this palaver. The English secret service knew that Pichon was old and therefore inaccessible in an erotic sense, but that the Italian, who was no whit younger, was a great Don Juan with a fondness for erotic extravagances. In Downing Street there are registered the extravagances, perversities, perversions, aberrations and erotic fantasies of the important statesmen; and for every case Downing Street has a sufficient number of female auxiliaries, blonde, brown, black, in short, women of all types and conditions whose loyalty to their task would enable them to undertake any chore, no matter how ugly or unpleasant. So, knowing the Italian's peculiarity as they did, they detailed a certain woman to take care of him (let us call her Gloria since in espionage

names are not important and are nearly always false). Gloria was met by two English agents and, having received instructions how to proceed, she immediately set out after the lascivious Marquis. In the meantime the agents were able to install microphones in the conference rooms. The Marquis was a zoo-sadist and whenever he shot birds he got into such an ecstasy that he fairly danced and rolled on the ground, especially if he had only wounded the fowl and was able to enjoy the prospect of its bleeding to death. That very evening the Marquis dined with Gloria, made her certain propositions and invited himself to her room for the following evening. Her room naturally was adjacent to that of the agents and connected with it. The Marquis requested of the lady one of those extravagances which are not infrequently enacted in Italian brothels: she was to appear in a white dress with deep décolleté and bare arms and, in his presence, was to slaughter a white rooster with a knife that he would bring for her; for this she was to receive three thousand lire of which he immediately paid her a thousand down. He planned to leave the hotel as soon as this bloody orgy would be over, for the conference was finished and the protocols were completed, as a matter of fact, he had the latter in his breast pocket.

That the orgy was to serve the purpose of stealing the documents is of course perfectly clear. When the Marquis entered the room of the blonde, with rooster and knife in his hand, the agents were already at their posts. The rooster struggled valiantly for his life, and when, holding him by the neck, she stuck him with the knife, he scratched her arms with his sharp claws several times, which of course was not in the original program. She screamed with pain, but the Marquis was rolling with ecstasy on the chaise longue; finally she shrieked for help and then fell to the ground in a faint. The corridor suddenly swarmed with people; everyone ran into the room, including the agents. In the light of what met their eyes as they dashed into the room, they suspected the Marquis of being a murderer and all the guests hurled themselves upon him. During this attack one of the agents very skillfully cut out from the inner pocket of his vest, the *dossier* containing the document, an act which in the general excitement remained unobserved. In this way the documents got to Downing Street and the Marquis became embroiled in a terrific scandal. This erotic adventure in the hour of departure cost him all his documents, but it is likely that he

got another set from Pichon because a half-hour after he was arrested on suspicion of rape, he was released. . . .

The courier service of Prince Udo of Stolberg who, as ordinance officer, was given the task of bringing a batch of secret documents to the station commander at Ghent also had disastrous results though not quite so tragic. Instead of alighting at the proper place, he drew up his car before the famous officers' brothel *Cintra*, and went in for some amatory dalliance, leaving his valuable papers in the auto. He spent more than a little time in the arms of the red-haired *Titi* and not until it was very late did he tear himself away, drunk and tired. It goes without saying that he left all his documents with her and had completely forgotten the purpose of his journey. Try as he would, he was unable to recall where he had left these important papers. Two days later the red-haired *Titi* conscientiously delivered them to the proper place, but what had happened in the interim remained a secret to the German authorities. Nevertheless, it was well known to all that the brothel inmate in the occupied area was an important apparatus in the practice of espionage. Other examples of the sort just described can be multiplied indefinitely, for they were common procedures. The amnesia produced by alcohol and drugs was an invariable element of these deceptions and must not be underestimated.

The soldier, be he officer or common man, is always inclined to attribute every female advance to the power of his own personality and the irresistible charm of his uniform; and in his exalted consciousness of his own capacities and powers, forgets that all too frequently he is only the vessel from which the canny female plans to extract important elements not at all connected with his own little self or body. Even the most pitiable brothel harlot could, in the course of a day, gather up from dozens of her customers, little bits of information which in the evening she might recapitulate to some secret service operative who would be able to combine all these tiny atoms of information into a meaningful account.

The carelessness and lack of caution evinced by the higher officers in regard to women frequently appear almost incredible. We might recall in this connection *Red Army* who in 1916, under very special circumstances, succeeded in filching from a German dreadnought the secret book of signals on the high seas. This person, also known by the names of Comtesse de Pomeran d'Acquitania and Flora von Poland, traveled about on land and sea; a famous industrialist shot himself because of her and a grand duke

heaped gifts upon her. The exploit just referred to was carried out on the battleship *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*. She is known to have failed only once, namely in Montreux, when she was prevented from stealing valuable papers from the German Professor E. through the cautiousness of the latter's secretary. During an hour of love with the cooing professor, she sent him to her room to get a vial of perfume and in the meantime sought to steal his documents, but was surprised in this attempt by his secretary.

Her names were legion. In addition to the three given above we might mention Comtesse de Vinier, Mme. de Carerolles and Minna Steengrave under the last of which she appeared in Germany and captivated the commandant of a dreadnought. He took her along with him to Kiel as his mistress and one evening took her upon his ship just when he had to decipher a message in code. She succeeded in stealing this code during a favorable moment and, as a result, the English fleet at Skagerrak was just as well acquainted with the signals as the Germans, and maneuvered accordingly. The egotism of the male, and his fear of leaving his mistress alone for one moment before the eyes of the others, led to the theft of the code, an extremely daring exploit. It might be remarked that the codes had only a limited value, for they were frequently stolen, betrayed and changed and in those cases more harm than good accrued from believing in them.

Many people attributed the suicide of the Grand Duke of Mecklenberg-Strelitz to an espionage affair in which he was more or less the victim of the pretty Princess Pless, who used him to obtain various important data. But these reports completely left out of account that he himself was reputed to be entangled in the net of a woman spy of the Intelligence Service who was very skillful in exploiting him. We shall not bother to discuss the question whether Emma Steuber was her right name but we shall come back to her in another connection. She was assigned the task of finding out how the Grand Duke, once a student at Eton, "cooked" his prisoners-of-war. This "cooking" had for a number of decades been a common practice with metropolitan police but was prohibited against prisoners-of-war by the Hague Peace Conference. Emma crossed the Grand Duke's path in the guise of an Austrian war widow, and made such an appeal to him that he entered into a liaison with her which lasted long enough for her to find out the necessary details, after which she suddenly disappeared. When the heart of the Viennese woman, who traveled about as a grande dame,

was moved by any man, she became unfit for her spying duties. She always traveled with a companion who belonged to the Intelligence Service and who took care of financial and social matters. She was reserved for those cases where prominent people had to be attached and at such times, of course, the surrender of her body was an obvious prerequisite for success. But in Lugano, where she had to spy upon a German major of the general staff, she suddenly refused and explained in tears to her superior that she could not betray this man because she loved him. Consequently the task was taken away from her, for they valued her services and particularly the attitude manifested in her confession, since there are very few women spies who confess their inability to proceed with a task for such emotional reasons and rather prefer to stumble on and fail—who are, in short, honest enough not to fail because of love.

This again proves the fact that even the lowest venal woman loses her value as a spy when she falls in love. Thus in Copenhagen, at the Hotel Angleterre, the Intelligence Service installed a young Danish woman at the beginning of the war whose duty it was to receive all important visitors. For months she performed her function perfectly but then she suddenly failed in her task and one day appeared before her superior and begged permission to be excused from further service inasmuch as she had fallen in love with one of her temporary lovers; so honest was this girl that she wished to return some of the money she had received as salary. This open admission of inability to serve further for emotional reasons was a very fortunate thing for the secret service, for very often female operatives would fall violently in love with someone of the other side and deceive their own superior officers and work for the enemy camp.

These interferences with normal functioning induced by love were naturally to be found among men also. "Where love begins, reason ends." Not only the little Tommy, Poilu or Muskote, but even the highest officer in the most responsible position, again and again, both before and during the war, as a result of erotic adventures and the intoxication produced by them, betrayed important military secrets. The woman whom he had considered to be only an erotic creature but who was the microphone of an enemy power, had stolen important communications from him. The sex-hungry front officer and the stallion of the halting-station, insatiable and luxurious in life, the aviator and the member of the general staff,

the military chemist and the automobile mechanic, all were equally careless in their intercourse with women and at the height of their passion would whisper, into the ear of their companion-in-lust, secrets that were never meant to be thus used. The army did much more to prevent soldiers from becoming infected with venereal diseases than to protect them against the grave evil of espionage. For the sex-starved soldier in whom erotic energies were seething to the point of mania, it was too much to expect that his cloudy senses would be able to perceive that the crafty female spy was contriving to draw him into her net. Avidly he grasped at the joy of the moment, for whatever was lost to the moment no eternity could restore. Hence the soldiers saw only the threat of death and the blazing apotheosis of momentary pleasure, and all the rest was forgotten.

The spy was also a soldier, a soldier in the dark, we might call him, and he fell a prey to the same errors that characterized his uniformed colleagues. Every organization that was concerned to combat the danger of espionage and ferret out spies used the same means as the latter: eroticism against eroticism, mystery against mystery. In general, the spy was more exposed and hence necessarily more careful than the soldier at the front or the halting-station, than the diplomat or official. He was better protected against the corrupting female companion than was the front soldier but, none the less, the number of the former who fell victims to their eroticism was legion. The mobile spy was not oppressed by the sex starvation which plagued the soldier at the front, but his occasional acquaintances were frequently just as dangerous. We need only remember that the Belgians informed their "light cavalry" that they would not be prosecuted for having intercourse with the enemy provided they would supply information concerning the latter. Hence it became a point of honor for all the hetæraë to try to get information. Now and then the Germans would also make use of the Belgian prostitutes for espionage purposes (as, for example, a certain Flora) but they had unpleasant experiences with these people, for the latter consorted with anyone who came, and, inasmuch as they were almost continually drunk, they boasted and blabbered so much that they actually did more harm than good. Just, as in general criminology, the brothel is always a breeding ground of crime, so it was in the wider sense a breeding ground for espionage. There were no brothels which were free from alcohol, and drunkenness is a worthy brother of prostitution; and intoxica-

tion and amnesia some of the consequences, not to speak of lesser evils. The tricks of prostitution remained relatively the same everywhere, no matter if the price were one-mark or the thirty-thousand franc price of a grand cocotte of the international resort: to chat, to boast, then, if necessary, to drug the victim and run through his pockets. Even the English, who had a low opinion of women spies (Sir Basil Thompson, who certainly was supposed to know whereof he spoke, once stated that women were not fitted for spying even if their husbands are convinced of the contrary) nevertheless employed them with great success, and there was no branch of the secret service without them. All of these women operatives, even those who were not recruited from the ranks of the cocottes, were instructed that whenever necessary they were expected to grant their victim the ultimate request. For some of these operatives it was a perfectly natural element in the adventure whereas for others it was strictly avoided, but under certain occasions, when the impulse was present, chosen of one's own accord. Among great women spies, however, the journey between the first coquettish glance and the removal of the last garment was so long that many a man gave away his secrets long before. Most women spies had to give themselves in order to achieve their purposes more readily but in rare cases this was not true as in the case of the woman venerated by the Belgians as a national heroine, Gabrielle Petit, a modiste, who went through the most remarkable adventures and experienced the greatest dangers both as a spy and as a member of the secret Belgian organization *Familliengrus*. On certain occasions she went about as a German lieutenant and possessed German papers. She was finally caught by a small army of detectives and sentenced to death in Brussels, where she met her end with remarkable staunchness.

Another national heroine of the Western front was Louise de Bettignies, whose *nom de guerre* was Alice DuBois. She, with her friend, Charlotte (Leonie van Houtte), experienced the most insane adventures and possessed an espionage net of her own with hundreds of spies. For two years she went about all her tasks with remarkable resolution before she was captured and sentenced to death. However, her sentence was commuted to imprisonment and she died of tuberculosis in the prison at Cologne a few days before the Armistice. She was incomparably more important for the strategy of the World War than was Miss Cavell who was executed, but, when she was caught, the Germans were by no means aware of

the importance of their catch. For both these women, the love of the fatherland and a fanatical hatred of the enemy played a much larger rôle than that of eroticism, although occasionally they also used the latter as a means.

These were women patriots who worked with a demoniac impulse in contrast to the almost playful adventuresses who worked in Switzerland, at Berne, Zürich, Lausanne, Geneva, Lugano and Lucerne. For these women, espionage with the possibility it afforded of earning extra money, was merely an accompaniment of their venal love life. Let us quote an extract from a letter of one such woman which will serve to illustrate the conception all of them had concerning their activity:

"Yesterday I had a rendezvous with a deck officer. The poor devil is passionately in love with me and is even desirous of marrying me. He invited me to visit him aboard the vessel which invitation I gladly accepted and I succeeded in following him into the map room. There two black eyes did the rest. . . .

"All is now over with the deck officer. The report was of importance. I am sorry for the chap. . . .

"That old B. who is on the coal board interests me. Women play a great part in his life and a seductive woman can accomplish much here. I don't know yet whether I should appear as an American or as a Dutch woman. . . ."

Everywhere erotic vanity shines through the words of this creature. Speaking of dark eyes, reminds us that in Berne there was a woman spy with suspiciously large eyes who bore the nickname of Bella Donna. She was paid by the Germans, and used by the Americans to transmit to the Germans documentary evidence of the great Alsace hoax, according to which the latter were to throw their reserves toward Belfort whereas the attack was really planned against St. Miheil. Bella Donna had gotten into disfavor because she was flirting much more than she was spying, and she had not supplied any worthwhile information for quite some time. The Americans arranged to have certain "important" faked documents stolen from them by this woman. A very cool American who carried an obtrusively large *dossier* approached her in the Bellevue Palast Hotel and invited her to have a drink with him. She exchanged glances with the bar keeper and accepted as many drinks as he offered her. In a cozy corner, their conversation became more intimate, more animated, and, finally, more drowsy until the soporific effects of the drug, that had been put into the Ameri-

can's drinks, took effect and he slid down under the table. While the bar keeper kept watch, she stole the *dossier* and immediately took it into her room where she opened and photographed all the contents. Just as skillfully she slipped everything back into its place after everything had been photographed, and on the basis of these documents the German general staff directed its reserves into upper Alsace. This is one example of many that we might cite to illustrate the practice of using female operatives to steal or photograph documents when it was desired to have the enemy know certain things. For this type of activity Switzerland was the most favorite checkerboard for there the risk was not as great as in the war lands. Similar deceptions were frequently exercised in Berne upon the stout lady known by the *nom de guerre* of "Turkish Delight" who had an equal fondness for men, money, alcohol and *pâte de fois gras*, and of whom it was known that she stood on the payroll of every land as well as on the suspicious list of every land. This lady had more names to her credit than anyone else. She originally came from the Balkans and was active before the war, appearing under such varied names as Baronne de Louziers, Ellinor Hawkins, Gina Raffalowitsch, Mme. Mezi, Mme. Hesketh, Mme. Davidowitsch, Baronne de Belleville, as the circumstances demanded. She was an efficient spy, being able to influence women also, but her personality was so striking that during the war she could only be used in neutral territory. Towards the end of the war, however, she got to America and this proved to be her undoing, for all the way from Madrid to New York, she was observed in the company of a couple and among them a sort of triangular relation existed. When they disembarked separately at New York, she was arrested, her baggage opened and a number of important papers found. She maintained a stubborn silence, however, but one morning in June, 1918, she was found dying in her cell from the effects of poison. It would require an encyclopedia to tell all the details of the erotic espionage that went on in the hotel rooms of Berne. The trick of the insulted husband was very frequently used; and shortly after one of these female operatives began her Swiss movements, everybody knew her special tastes in everything, including matters of the bed, and also, the special tricks of each one. We might mention at this point two women whom we shall discuss later in some detail, who also had their headquarters at Berne, namely, the Polish princess, Neda Mikaela Wiszniewsky, and Irma Staub.

One morning in an estaminet at Feignies near Maubeuge, Mlle. von Heimler was found hanged. A placard on her breast stated that she had been condemned to death by the *Comité de Libre Belgique*; a few hours later, the corpse was stolen from the German halting-station. This scandal was great as Fräulein von Heimler had been a spy personally attached to the German Kaiser and had ridden about in one of the imperial autos. Before the war her name had been Gertrude von Opplen; then she had married the Belgian Count de Nys who was the adjutant of the Belgian military attaché. Even at that time she engaged in espionage activities and used her social position to steal important papers from a French diplomat. Her husband drove her out and later on found her in the halting-station among the Germans, a slave to every vice, syphilitic, and a drug addict. What had once been a beautiful woman was now a painted wreck. He lured her to the hinterland and hanged her and later, as a sort of symbolic gesture, placed the corpse into the bed of the chief of the German secret service. Thus the daughter of the German general died by the hands of her deceived husband, who had for a long time in Belgium been the most rabid opponent of her activity in the German spy system.

Women spies have another disadvantage—they tire easily and in order to whip their senses into activity take to using intoxicants and narcotics to help them tide over the extremely monotonous intervals of their occupation. One of the most famous of all German spies was ruined by intoxicants, morphine and cocaine, and now lives on, a pitiful wreck, in a private Swiss sanitarium. This is the legendary *Fräulein Doktor*, a woman with nerves of steel, a cold, logical engine for a mind, well-controlled sensuality, a fascinating body and demoniac eyes. Annemarie Lesser came from the *Tiergarten* quarter of Berlin and was driven out by her parents when she was sixteen, because she had borne a child as a result of a liaison with an officer. He had to leave her and became a spy before the war; only a short time after he had succeeded in introducing her into the secrets of his calling, he died suddenly while on a journey. Annemarie, who possessed a good education and spoke several languages, was enormously enthused over her adventurous vocation and continued in it. She went all through France and Belgium and was extremely successful in imposing on old and young officers alike, through her apparent innocuousness, and then captivating them with her sexual refinement. In England, she assumed the guise of an artist. Arrested many times she always

succeeded in saving herself at the last moment. At that time she already had the nickname which clung to her later. When the war broke out she was spying in Italy. Disguised as a nurse, she went through Paris with forged papers and got to the Belgian front where she noticed the manner of the Allies' coöperation and the weaknesses of the fort at Lüttich; later, disguised as a Belgian peasant woman, she rejoined the German front line forces. In Berlin she was, for a long time, the soul of the secret service at *Königgrätzerstrasse* and she was especially famous for the utter mercilessness and unscrupulousness with which she made the German secret service agents toe the mark. Everyone had to obey orders and prove his mettle or he was driven to suicide and occasionally assassinated.

In 1916, when the German service failed for the first time, she herself went into the field again and re-established the service in Paris. Into her bed there again came important French officers. A treacherous friend, a Greek by the name of Coudouainis, she had removed from this life. She was now compelled to go to Paris a second time because again the service had broken down and this time she went disguised as a miserable provincial girl. Very skillfully she made her way into a hotel which served as the meeting place for all the French secret service men. Here she got a job as a chambermaid and was able to obtain very important papers. When she obtained sufficiently important information, she chloroformed the guards and escaped from the hotel. At this time she was slavishly addicted to morphine which helped her perform her brilliant and astounding feats. She finally got over the Swiss border, but not before she had shot three men. After a short stay in Antwerp, she returned to France in 1918, for the last time, in the guise of a South American nurse and surrounded herself with a group of harmless girl comrades. The latter were necessary to her while she was getting orientated. She travelled over the Western front in order to investigate actual conditions behind the line. In a visit to a hospital she was recognized by a Belgian officer whom she had once deceived, and the chase after her began. But once again she succeeded in mastering every iota of mentality and agility in escaping danger. Disguised in a uniform which she had stolen, she succeeded in making her way through all the fronts but then broke down, not least because she herself had seen her impending doom. Her breakdown was so complete that she not only had to leave the service but to withdraw from the world of normal man altogether.

Together with her chief she destroyed all her documents just before the terrific breakdown came, and then fell into mental darkness.

One of the most unscrupulous woman spies, concerning whom it was never really known what power she was serving, was Neda Mikaela Wiszniewsky. She was a Paris foundling who was brought up by a washerwoman and who rose in the world with a rapidity comparable only to that of Paiva (later Countess Henckell von Donnersmarck) fifty years earlier. At fifteen she was picked up at a cheap hotel, cultivated the light frivolous life and succeeded, in 1903, not only in enchanting the eighty-year-old ennobled Jewish prince, Adam Wiszniewsky, but also in marrying him and so the little red-haired harlot became a legitimate princess. But only as long as it suited her, for shortly after that she began to deceive him with all manner of men. He gave up the ghost not long afterwards and, from her subsequent conduct, it may well be assumed she helped along in his rather sudden passage. The old prince was extremely jealous of her and their joint departure from the Hotel Ritz in Madrid in 1905 caused quite a scandal. After his death, she wasted her rich legacy at Monte Carlo with various admirers and soon afterwards stood *vis-à-vis du rien*, practically in the same position which she had occupied at the beginning of her career. But the World War opened a new field of activity for her. Undoubtedly, at that time she served as a spy for Germany for she lived in a triangle with a German doctor and a suspicious Spanish woman. All were arrested, but while the others were released, she was sentenced to be shot. However, and here is where her good connections came to the fore, her fascinating beauty was not destined to bleed to death at Vincennes, and the Polish princess was shipped to the Italian border where she continued her spying activities. A powerful friend, Count Colobra, protected her from persecution and even wished to marry her; but she rewarded his kindness by poisoning him, whereupon she fled to Spain. However, she was again released, since there were no proofs.

It is not clear how she managed to get to Paris again but shortly thereafter she had everything that a spy in Paris could have, including a salon in which she received a very mixed society. Her *intime* and lover at this time, and for all the rest of her career, was an Emir D'Asteck, obviously a Levantine, who asserted that he was a chemist from Alexandria. He had come to Paris in 1913 and, together with Neda, had run through the dowry of his millionaire wife. Now he became her aide and interpreter inasmuch as he was

a sort of polyglot wonder, speaking twelve languages fluently. Together they undertook many journeys and were especially fond of the neutral district of Berne. They consorted with both warring groups but she entered into intimate relations with a German spy, Von Treck. However, when the love between them was over, she sought to murder him in Geneva by chloroforming him and dragging him to the French border. Unfortunately he recovered, so she now tried another method of destroying him—by planting forged documents upon his person. In Lausanne, she entered into a liaison with the French consul, Baron Fougères, and after this was terminated, created a scandal there; following this, she entered the French espionage service at a monthly salary of 15,000 francs. Her field of operation was again Spain, and this time she seemed actually to have transmitted important information. Meantime, D'Asteck was busy with espionage connected with poisoned gas and also appears to have carried important information to and fro. It was only the fault of their incorrigible loquacity that towards the end of the war such important tasks were removed from them, but because of their important connections nothing more serious was done to this pair.

Now she and her bully, D'Asteck, became common criminals. They attracted young men by various misleading advertisements, had these dupes insured with policies that named them as beneficiaries, and then poisoned them. The last known case of this sort was perpetrated by them in Madrid in 1922 against a Canadian after which they disappeared. This little Solange woman was a veritable demon for she was not only a fantastically deft spy but she destroyed human life without any scruple whatever. In addition she ran through the whole gamut of eroticism in which domain she was irresistible to young and old. True to no one but herself, she carried on espionage essentially on her own account, that is, like every harlot, she served whatever man paid her well.

Compared to such a significant figure, the spy of the Belgian halting-station, Eugenie T., who carried on with anyone, drank, caroused and slept with every man that presented himself, wormed out some little secret, then sold it to the invading army, was rather small fry. Now and then in order to restore the confidence of the native populace in her she had some of the German soldiers lead her through the streets of the city in handcuffs, and then throw her into prison with men in order to worm confidences out of the latter. On one such occasion one prisoner gave her a ring on condition

that she bring him into contact with another man. She arranged this appointment and then had both men betrayed, but kept the ring as a trophy of her victory. She was very pretty and the three English spies who finally were instrumental in her undoing must have felt very sorry, but the ten thousand marks offered as reward if they succeeded in betraying her, was without doubt tempting.

We must not forget to mention the *petite* Solange (not to be confused with Princess Neda Mikaela) who came of good family, served untiringly at the front as a nurse, and kept up at the same time erotic relations with two artillery officers, without either knowing of the other. She was very skillful in extracting valuable information from both of them upon the hard bed of love which the miserable quarters behind the line of battle afforded; together with the number of wounded at her particular station she had a good source of information. Moreover, she succeeded in getting this information to the proper sources by entrusting it to the very wounded whom she had tended. After these men recovered they went to Paris for a brief time and they were requested by her to transmit reports to a certain foreign dentist resident there. What soldier, who had been kindly treated by a nurse, would decline to do such a favor for her? When the scheme was discovered, and search was made for the dentist, he had already disappeared, but little Solange confessed that the latter, during a severe tooth-extraction, had drugged and then hypnotized her so that she was compelled to do whatever he desired, despite the fact that she was a patriotic Frenchwoman. When she had to appear before the military court, she poisoned herself with veronal.

A famous case on the Eastern front, in the Galician ambulance service, was that of the false nurse, Innocentia, the most beautiful, most devoted and erotically most inaccessible of all. She had one peculiarity which was noticeable only upon close observation, namely, that she wore unusually large shoes. A suspicious officer of the Austrian secret service caused her to undress. Whereupon, he discovered that Innocentia was really a Russian officer of the general staff, Gerson Wassilj Wasiljewitsch. The false Innocentia paid with his life for this masquerade.

Most of the girls who devoted themselves to venal love at the Belgian halting-stations had a side business. Thus a daughter of a profiteer residing in Ghent became the mistress of a certain officer by the name of Rau who was in charge of the supply station. The Belgian paramour was skillful enough to persuade her Teutonic

swain to bring her an appropriate gift in the form of the newest German gas mask, and so a few days later this long anticipated mystery was known behind the Allied front. At that time it was a great puzzle why suddenly the masks became useless and why thousands of German soldiers were destroyed despite the fact that they were wearing gas masks. The answer is, as we have seen, to be found in the love of a station stallion, who in every other respect was fulfilling his duty properly. Nor was he the only officer assigned to a halting-station who cultivated hostile spies as mistresses. Thus we might mention the commandant of the station at Kortrijk who, all through the occupation, kept an English mistress. As a result of their lust, these poorly supervised station officers were everywhere the chief victims of hostile espionage. The practice of theft connected with coitus so common to prostitutes (what the Germans call *Beischlafsdiebstahl*) became an instrument of war, for if we examine the activities of female spies, practically ninety per cent of their achievements can be summed up under this indelicate rubric. Whether we are dealing with the Savoy Hotel at Lodz, or the Fledermaus at Zürich, the Bristol at Warsaw, or the Salonica dives Floca and Tour Blanche, in every case these female artists were hetæraæ and the hetæraæ were spies.

It is interesting to relate that the English intelligence officer stationed at Salonica, General Cory, who maintained a small army of young Greek women, was deceived by them in one way or another, as when they entered his employ they were already working for the younger and more interesting Fritz Schenk. Every week they had a tête-à-tête with the latter at Larissa, during which they betrayed to him everything that Cory wanted to know from them, and when they returned home they would stuff Cory with false reports concerning the German spy. One of these ladies was sent to Malta by Cory as a regular agent, but the Intelligence Service made short work of this Mlle. Popovitch, because of her frequent telegrams to her "mother," and shot her. Subsequently the myopic Cory was degraded in the service and placed in an artillery group. It is needless to say that he was even more helpless in the face of the clever espionage which Queen Sophie was carrying on from Greece in the interests of Mackensen.

A rôle of decisive importance was played by the Hotel Bristol at Warsaw. As long as Poland was ruled by the Russian army, the British Intelligence Service was quartered there (every state had a special detail of secret service men guard its own allies). The real

owner of the hotel and the leading personality of the Intelligence Service at the hotel was a man named Jeffries who acted the part of a porter, and occasionally masqueraded as a Russian officer. Since the front was only two hours' journey from Warsaw, every form of merrymaking was prohibited and so to overcome this difficulty Jeffries created a subterranean Bristol in the cellars in which mad orgies were celebrated. When the Germans captured Warsaw nothing changed in the nature of the place, only the uniforms in the cellar. The cocottes remained the same and reports continued to fly to Downing Street. Because Jeffries seemed over-eager to please, and because he purveyed to the conquerors *mar-raines* in a copious supply, he began to arouse suspicion. One day a courier was intercepted and the whole story became clear; where-upon without further ceremony Jeffries and two female aids were stood up before a firing squad and the next day a German porter ran the business.

Again and again we are amazed by the extraordinary, almost insane, daring exhibited in some of these espionage exploits. It seemed as though the individuals concerned were really playing dangerously with life and not out of a desire for gain but more frequently though a sort of hunger of the nerves, of a tremendous desire for new sensations which leads in the same direction as narcotics. It is understood, of course, that again and again narcotics were used in the service of espionage and eroticism. Where time permitted it the attempt was made to deprave such labile personalities as would be useful in the cause of the given enterprise, that is to debauch them by making them drug addicts, thus making them more accessible to control. The first, but not completely clear, case is that of the French ship ensign, Ullmo, who, for many years, maintained at his villa in Toulon all the apparatus necessary for extremely refined opium smoking, and together with his mistress consumed considerable quantities of this drug daily. When he was on the seas it was impossible for him to smoke opium, so he had to content himself with opium pills. He became completely debauched and, in order to maintain the double luxury of narcotics and mistresses, he turned to stealing signal codes and documents. This affair, which took place in 1908, had important effects upon the use of narcotics.

Much more, however, was achieved during the war by France in debauching the battlefield, the hinterland and the leading bigwigs even though these previously had been considerably cocain-

ized. Thus it is related of a certain French general that he had to be expelled from a hotel in the middle of the night because he had befouled the whole atmosphere with a bottle of ether which he had brought with him from the front. Cocottes and artistes of various kinds were not only swarming about in Swiss hotels, but were to be found in evacuated areas, and it was these people who supplied aviators, for example, with their drugs. As instruments of demoralization and as part of the technique of espionage, morphine and cocaine were of equal importance. In drink, in cigarettes, in food, everywhere drugs and poisons threatened the possessor of war secrets, if Eros could not gain her ends alone. Thus, at the end of the war, espionage was so interconnected with and so drenched in narcotics, that one could almost draw the inverted conclusion that whosoever used drugs also served as a spy. In their employment of drugs, spies undoubtedly sought the euphoric rather than the narcotic effects; that is, they needed stimulants in order to tone up the nerves which were constantly laboring under a terrific strain. It is also true that they employed somnifacients in order to sleep quietly for a few hours and prevent talking aloud during sleep. It is needless to add that rarely did they sleep alone.

Let us now turn to the great tragedies of espionage which ended in executions. It has already been mentioned that it was not the measure of guilt which determined whether a culprit was to be shot, but much more, whether it was advisable, from the point of view of strategy—that is, whether at a certain moment absolute terrorism in executing spies, or the magnanimous gesture of sparing them from death, would be more advisable from the tactical point of view. There is some justice for the assertion of the French criminologist, Goron, that very frequently there were as many intrigues in connection with an execution as with an election.

It may appear noteworthy that in France, where ever since 1887 women were not executed, the execution of spies was carried on with particular fanaticism and that Poincaré never pardoned anyone on principle, while the German Kaiser, after the unfortunate affair of Miss Edith Cavell, had practically no other women shot.

Today we do not possess any reliable information, with the exception of Austria, concerning the number of spies executed during the World War. But it is an established fact that in France numerous women did lose their lives in this way. The case of Tichelly is not quite clear, despite the relatively simple statement of it by the French. It appears very likely that this woman was

executed as a sort of theatrical gesture which the circumstances of the time dictated, for, at the turn of the year between 1916 and 1917, conditions on the Western front were particularly bad for France. The Tichelly woman, a forty-four-year-old mother of a French soldier, did not have the slightest notion of the consequences of her deeds and she could not at all understand why they were going to shoot her, seeing that she had not killed anyone. However, on March 15 she was executed at Poteau at the same time that her son was wrestling with death at one of the front hospitals. Poincaré made it a principle to affirm every death verdict so that the courts would know that he was not going to interfere with the machinery of the law. This compelled the courts, in certain cases, to withhold their recommendations for death sentence from Poincaré when there did not seem to be overwhelming proof of guilt. Thus on April 24, 1917, the court reversed its own death verdict against the beautiful nurse, Rose Doucmétière, who had been condemned to death because she had put certain questions to wounded men. Not quite as fortunate was Marguerite Francillard who was sentenced to death as a typical carrier of messages (*boite aux lettres*). This unfortunate little girl was killed for no other reason than to demonstrate once and for all that any participation in activities of this sort would constitute an act of espionage punishable by death. This pretty little midinette from Grenoble came to the city of Paris, young, inexperienced and hungry for life, and there fell into the hands of a spy, who at once as lover and exploiter, used the girl as a mere instrument. Among other things, he persuaded her that in France she would receive reports for certain other Frenchmen who were being kept in Germany as prisoners-of-war and that she would have to bring these messages to Geneva. It soon became known that she, in her utter naïveté, was acting as a spy courier but the authorities did not arrest her immediately, inasmuch as they wanted to get her superior. This charming little girl threaded her way among the agents who were watching over her, utterly blind to the dangers that were threatening, remaining true to her lover, despite all temptation. Thousands of such ambulatory post-offices were in function at that time. Gradually these correspondents were rounded up—Spaniards, Dutchmen, Roumanians, Greeks—almost a dozen of them were executed at Vincennes without Marguerite suspecting anything. Now she met her lover in Geneva, only because he no longer dared to set foot on French soil. When this became known and it was clear that her lover could not be arrested,

they pulled her in. With the greatest naturalness she confessed everything, but with such simplicity and genuine innocence that the court was divided. This was one of the few cases during the war when there was such a lack of unanimity about the guilt of a suspected spy. However, by a majority of one, the verdict of death was finally imposed. It is generally taken for granted that for guilt to be established there must be a consciousness of guilt or evil done, intention in other words, but, of course, chauvinism made small bones about such considerations of abstract principle and used this case as an example to discourage all carrying of messages. It was a very edifying execution when this naïve child was tied up against the wall on January 10, 1917. Someone had been clever enough to convince Marguerite herself of her guilt but this was small comfort for her. One heard her shriek *Je demande pardon* and a moment later she was hanging there, a bloody corpse. She was photographed in this condition and subsequently the picture was described as that of Mata Hari. The firing squad now filed past the corpse while the bugles played their melodies. And in Geneva the German agent sought a new mistress and a new messenger.

When one compares the deeds of this child with those of the female spies mentioned earlier, one immediately remembers an old adage which says that the little ones get hanged with fanfares and trumpets. This execution was purely an act of terrorism to warn off all who might be tempted to engage in similar activities.

We now come to the most famous espionage drama in the world. It concerns a woman to whom many volumes have already been devoted but who is still as great a mystery as ever—Mata Hari. Rarely did any case create such a tremendous furore, and even today there is current in Paris a sort of Barbarossa legend that she was never executed, but that the ceremony was carried out with a dummy; and still others have introduced the Tosca motif into the legend.

Mata Hari, or more correctly, Margaret Zella, was executed as a spy and, since none of her relatives or friends claimed the body, it was left to anatomy for the advancement of which her much-loved limbs were cut up into fragments.

Mata Hari was a spy who was little fitted for her profession, a spy who carried on her activity as a sort of temporary amusement because it made easier her real activity of being a grande cocotte. If she had not been executed when she was so young it

might have been possible to ferret out the truth about her, but now it is difficult to penetrate beyond the corona of legend. She was born in 1876 and at the time of her execution was therefore about forty-two. On her father's side she might have had a mixed blood, but on her mother's side she undoubtedly belonged to the Dutch nobility. At nineteen she made an unortunate marriage with a colonial officer, Max Leod, and accompanied him to the colonies. With a certain tendency to mysticism and to frivolity she not only gravitated towards Asiatic cults but also gave her husband more or less ground for jealousy and, in a jealous scene, he bit off one of her nipples. Two children resulted from this union, one of whom fell a victim to a Japanese feud. The husband, who was a slave to drink, fell sick with tropical cholera and then began to create all sorts of scandals which led to his recall to Europe where he set his wife upon the street with the well-known admonition that she was not to return until she brought money. It was not utterly impossible for her to return home, and so with what little money she got she went to Paris. The rest was the street. . . .

One lady of the sidewalks gave her a tip: *Maisons des Rendez-vous*; and so Mlle. Zella entered one of the better public houses and remained there for a while. It is interesting that during her experiences here she was once examined by a physician who later recognized her in an important mission. Energetic and persevering, she did not merely enter upon a protracted period of decay in luxurious beds, for in her there glowed a portion of that mysterious Asia which serves the gods in temple dances and fantastic orgies. She apotheosized prostitution into the mysticism of Asia and later even appeared as an Asiatic dancer. This was in 1903 at a private performance, and in October, 1905, she was already making public appearances at the *Musée Guimet*, an Oriental mystery house. Margarete Zella became Mata Hari, "the eye of the morning," and skillfully created a legend about herself which helped her achieve great popularity. This little Dutch woman could not really dance; her dances were something different—disrobing, affirmation of life, and a display of unrestrained sensuality, garbed in mysticism which completely captivated the audience.

Mata Hari became the rage of the day and the toast of Paris. She received any number of offers to appear in revues and theaters. She was altogether *en vogue* as a woman of the world and having many admirers at that time she could demand any price from her lovers. She stood on the same level with Otero, Cavalieri, Clée de

Mérode, Badet and Liane de Pougy. At that time it was considered the thing, among the worldlings of Paris, to have had intimate relations with her and the circle of her admirers grew constantly because she passed for an erotic marvel as a mistress of the Kama Sutra and all the other Oriental arts of love. She was invited to foreign countries and ever more men ruined themselves for her. No one attempted to deny that the German Crown Prince and the Duke of Braunschweig were among the number of her ephemeral adventures and this naturally increased her charm. She visited Holland, Spain, Italy and Russia, *son già mille e tre*. . . . In Holland it was the Prime Minister, Van der Linden, and in Paris, a number of ministers, senators and high officers. She became a famous person, one who consorted with the most important men.

Thus, later on, it was pointed out as proof of her guilt, that on the eve of the declaration of war, while she was fulfilling an appearance at the Berlin *Wintergarten*, she had an intimate séance with the Chief of Police, Von Jagow, although there was nothing official about this action. What was much more suspicious was the fact that, several weeks before the beginning of the war, she had sold her villa at Neuilly and all her possessions before she journeyed to foreign lands. She must have entered the German secret service some time before the war, for her official designation, H-21, is a low number in that list (in this H probably represents Holland and 21 her number). Incidentally this assignation of numbers to agents was a piece of tomfoolery, just as were all the codes and ciphers which, when they didn't actually betray the persons who bore them, constituted a proof of espionage and actually brought many spies to their deaths. An even greater piece of foolishness was the maintenance of the same number for any given operative, as in the case of Mata Hari who kept her number all through the war; and it was this fact which really brought her to her end. The chief characteristic of this aspect of the secret service was an over-estimation of the enemy's stupidity and of their own wisdom.

Thanks to her great reputation, Mata Hari was able to slip out of every difficulty at first. She was able to stave off the demands of the German secret service through gracious promises; and in view of her great connections and important lovers, the German spy chiefs paid her lavishly in anticipation of the usefulness that she promised to evince later on. Mata Hari, however, was clever enough to use her splendid connections, not for espionage, but for advertising herself, and, at the end, when she was brought before

the war court, she actually put up this argument in defense of herself, but this trump card did not win her a single trick. For her, espionage was just a means for advertising and a method of rendering conquests easier in the higher circles, in which enterprises the deceived parties who gave out certain valuable information paid the costs. It was not that she brought no reports at all, one could scarcely move in the circle in question without having some sort of news get to one's ear, but that she made no intensive effort to get at any information. To her it always seemed more important to cultivate the man who happened to be the chief of the secret service at the given time and captivate his heart. He would thus, for his own interests and partly for the interests of the state, assign her enough funds to enable her to go anywhere and do much as she pleased. Later when she declared, before the French military court with the most extreme cynicism, that the German espionage chiefs had paid for their own personal nights of love with the unsupervised funds of their departments, this was a well-deserved attack upon the chauvinistic psyche of the Teutonic military machine!

Not only was Mata Hari the mistress of the Dutch chief of the German espionage service—it is interesting to speculate how much any one man could be the lover of such a professional adventuress—but at the same time she was able to draw the Spanish functionary into her net. She managed to have the German Crown Prince take her along to the Silesian maneuvers, and to captivate others of the bourgeois class so that they spent their fortunes on her. She was a famous hetæra and just as the demi-mondaine, Gaby Deslys, as mistress of ex-King Manuel worked for the Intelligence Service, so did this *Madame Sex* work for Germany. Undoubtedly, she was one of the best paid German agents, and that, not because of her spying ability, but more because of her erotic activity and her promises. Compared to the achievements of the poorly paid proletarian spies, she accomplished little. What is more, she used her knowledge of German submarines in Spain and Morocco to the detriment of Germany, for when she needed money she sold it to the enemy's secret service. It is no secret that a time finally came when the German service was disgusted with her, determined to get rid of her in one way or another. Hence it was quite in agreement with the action of French military service, for this freed them of a large and unjustifiable expense. The Germans themselves were on the verge of getting rid of her in spite of her fame as the

most distinguished woman spy of the World War and despite her adoration by hysterical souls. She was not, by any means, the greatest of the women spies who were executed.

She met her fate, not so much because of the damage she had actually inflicted, but because it was expected that by inflicting the death penalty upon this prominent lover of distinguished men of the enemy camp, a beneficial moral effect would be exercised and the prevention of espionage would be helped enormously. A propos of this, there were several special intrigues that were carried on in Paris in connection with her. The version that Poincaré revenged himself upon her for having refused him once, is untenable in view of the fact that he did not extend pardons to anyone as a matter of principle. Van der Linden's intercession for her was a truly chivalrous act, though not very wise from the point of view of statecraft, and it was disavowed by the very moral Queen. Mata Hari who was a great artist in the realm of love but only a dilettante as a spy, was shot because, in the fall of 1917, there was need for an international gesture on a large scale. Doubtless she was guilty, but her execution, nevertheless, threw a shadow on French gallantry. Her fate directed the glance of the world to other female spies.

A nefarious rôle was played in her life by the Marquis de Montessac, similar to the one played by Emir D'Asteck towards the little Solange. He appears to have been merely an adventurer and it is quite likely that it was he who drew Mata Hari into the net of espionage and later organized and exploited her work. During the first months of the World War, she disappeared from sight for a number of months after her infamous guest appearance at the *Wintergarten* and it may be assumed that at that time she was completing her education in espionage at Amsterdam in order to be sent to the Allied front. Several times she came to London and began to appear on the list of suspects of the Intelligence Service; and it was from this source that the attention of the French was first drawn to her. As soon as she returned to Paris, she became the lover of the chief of one of the divisions in the Department of State, and, at the same time she kept up her connections with her lover, Montessac, who was in the aviation service. It was regarded as suspicious that she suddenly became interested in nursing and requested that she be sent to Vittel where, in addition to the hospital, there was a very important aviation camp. Her request was granted and she got to the hospital. Here, during the day,

she carried on a liaison with a Russian officer and spent mad nights in the company of the young and valiant aviators. But nothing could be proved against her, for she was still playing the rôle of the cocotte. However, the authorities were displeased with her presence and requested her removal, which was forthwith accomplished. Her relations with Montessac were not clearly known, and it certainly was not known that the latter brought the accumulated reports to the German front directly by dropping them there from his airship. For this reason, all the watching to which she was subjected was a complete fiasco. At this time it appears that she entered the French service. She disappeared from sight for six weeks and when she reappeared she turned over to the French authorities information which resulted in the destruction of a number of German submarines; this constituted her introductory service in behalf of the French.

From some secret source the latter ascertained in 1916 that there was a certain woman in Paris who was working for Germany with the greatest success. For a while this was thought to be *Fräulein Doktor* but later when this German agent was known to be back in Berlin and valuable information continued to trickle out through that Paris source, the suspicion gradually arose that Mata Hari was an *agent double*. A short time after that, they learnt the control number, H-21, but no one knew who H-21 was. Mata Hari was now sent to Belgium to deliver five letters to French agents, of whom one was certainly not a traitor. At the last moment, however, she received different instructions and under certain remarkable circumstances, got to Spain where, from the very first moment, she was put under strict surveillance. In the Grand Hotel in Madrid, she rented the room next to that of the German naval attaché, V. Kroon, and sought a contact with the French military attaché. When her money ran out she demanded that the German representative get her funds, and, to avoid suspicion, that it be paid to her by a neutral party, the Dutch ambassador at Paris. The naval attaché immediately cabled the German espionage chief at Amsterdam to send out fifteen thousand pesetas to agent H-21. The code message was picked up by the radio station at Eiffel Tower and, in the meantime, a little amateur spy had found out for the French secret service that Mata Hari was H-21. When she returned to Paris they let her call for the money and the next morning she was arrested.

That she received the Police Commissioner naked and that she

very slowly and obtrusively dressed in his presence is nothing remarkable with anyone acquainted with the customs of French coquetry, but all this procedure was of no avail. She no longer had those five letters, but the fact that, in the meantime, a spy had been the recipient of one of those five letters and had been shot by the Germans, was enough proof to hang her. Although there are not a few gaps in the proof of Mata Hari's guilt, nevertheless, there is enough testimony to make the death verdict comprehensible. She steadfastly refused to believe that the sentence would be carried out in view of her very high connections, but when it appeared that nothing would save her she surrendered herself to her destiny with Oriental fatalism. On October 15, 1917, she met her end in the same place where many of her far less distinguished predecessors had been executed.

We do not wish to spend any more time over the legally sentenced and executed victims of espionage, but we wish to say a few words concerning some cases of secret and private executions which also belonged to the "war in the dark" and also have a strong erotic undertone.

One day there was an item in the Geneva papers that the popular Parisian artiste, Marussia X., had been found dead upon her bed in her hotel room, clad in her party clothes and covered with flowers. It was assumed that her death was due to suicide. Naturally, the only motive for suicide in such a young and attractive person must be unhappy love, and so the Geneva police did not make any further investigation of the case. As a matter of fact, however, the pretty Polish widow was executed in this fashion inasmuch as there was no other way of dealing with her in neutral territory. She was an artiste and a grande cocotte and had fallen in love with and become the mistress of a Roumanian working for Germany, who drew her into his organization. He had to leave France because they were hot on his trail and so, in order to be near him and possibly help him, she sought engagements in Switzerland. When admission to Paris was refused her, she telephoned to a theater agent there, requesting him to send her a telegram to the effect that she had a job in Paris and that it was necessary for her to come at once. This man became suspicious and immediately informed the secret service at the Boulevard St. Germain where they had long been keeping an eye upon her. She then sought connections in Switzerland and made overtures to the French consul at Lausanne, Baron de Fougère. Whether she was executed

by the German secret service or this treason or whether she fell a victim to a purely private erotic quarrel or revenge arising from jealousy, it is a fact that on the evening of her death she had dined with an elegantly clad man, had taken a short water journey with him and then had returned to her hotel room where she had drunk coffee, in which, undoubtedly, fatal poison had been inserted.

Among other circumstances of this sort there may be listed the unnatural death in Paris of the German spy, Van Kaarback. This enterprising chap had formerly been a dancing teacher, croupier, teacher of languages and member of many shady professions. One day he was inveigled into the German secret service by *Fräulein Doktor* and educated in espionage at Antwerp before he was sent to Paris in whose Montmartre he had formerly squandered his money. It was a great joy for him to get to Paris again with some money in his purse, but, unfortunately for him, he was very carefully watched from the moment that he left Antwerp. His guardians, also Dutchmen, struck up a friendship with him and all together they went *faire la noce a Montmartre*. In addition the operatives that had been assigned to guard Van Kaarback threw a "dancer" into his path with whom he was so taken that he confessed to her all his qualities and duties, and even displayed to her certain of his official papers. This sealed the poor man's fate and a short time after he was found dead in one of the dark streets of the Montmartre with a knife between his shoulders, on the blade of which appeared the place of its manufacture, Solingen. Thus we see that the extremely hazardous occupation of the spy was intimately connected with sexuality; and we find in the infamous activities of espionage not only all the sordid tricks of crime but also the variants of eroticism and prostitution.

Chapter 15

EROTICISM BEHIND MILITARY DRILL

Destruction of Normal Emotions—Primitive Instincts Aroused—Brutal Elements of Drill—Sadism and Masochism—Alcoholism Encouraged—Frequency of Suicides—Morbid Sexuality of Garrison Life—Eroticism in Crime and Punishment—Killing of Wounded—Sexual Factors in Desertion—Release of Bestial Traits

THE bestiality of war begins in the training camp at drill. Soldiers' drill in its modern form did not always exist as a natural method of training for mass murder. It is a historical product which came into existence with the great standing army of Louis IX and his minister, Louvois; but the contemporary methods of drill are a heritage of the eighteenth century. The great mass of soldiers of this period were unhappy proletarians who, as soon as they became impressed into the army, ceased to be members of human society and became abused, declassed creatures without personal destiny. In order to make an army of these unfortunate creatures, drill was necessary, and its purpose obvious. First it was necessary to kill in the soldier every personal and human reaction so that at the moment of danger to life he would do his duty blindly and mechanically and permit himself to be murdered and to keep intact the character of the army as the army of nobles or officers. At that time there arose the notion of "human material" which had to be trained. In the soldier the human being is systematically killed and the animal aroused, but trained to remain within certain limits. By and large, this institution was still extant when the great national armies left the trenches of the World War. The national armies were armies of generalized military duty in which the principal thing was the officers and their *esprit de corps* whereas the men were will-less and soul-less matter, trained by drill to blind obedience, to bear unspeakable suffering and to view death calmly.

The eighteenth century, when drill first made its appearance, was also the period of mechanistic materialism. The enlightened of that age were convinced that man was really a machine and that practically anything could be made of him through mechanical education. But instead of making the soldier a machine they made him an animal. He was trained to become a military machine by arousing all his hidden primitive impulses—those same instincts which had been suppressed because they were noxious to society. His drill masters sought to compensate him for the loss of all

human relationships by releasing all these primitive impulses. In this way drill is tied up with sexuality, for the instincts which society tries to suppress and which are liberated by the garrison, are largely of a sexual nature. There is little difference between the preparation for war in drill and actual participation in war itself for arousing erotic excitations of brutality and cruelty, and also releasing homosexual components. Perhaps these occur in drill even more regularly and in a more repulsive form than in war. The justification of the training period as preparation for war was amply demonstrated during the World War.

Even during the actual fighting the most insane and utterly useless occupations were found for the soldier, as though death was not an actuality. Such a task as polishing his buttons was pursued with an intensity that is incredible and tragi-comic. In drill masochism plays as great a rôle as sadism. Without the effective collaboration of the middle classes—the class of subordinate officers so brilliantly analyzed in Heinrich Mann's *Untertan*—the rule of the rulers would have collapsed. The self-evident sado-masochistic inclinations of this type of subordinate are not to be denied. During drill these instincts which slumber in almost every man are favored by the social relationships and are aggravated to a pathological degree. The ideal type of soldier, the "good" subordinate officer is a sadist to those below him and a masochist to his superior. Military life has always given us many examples of this.

The whole mechanism of drill and the whole activity of the militarist hierarchy is intended to inculcate in the soldier a feeling of inferiority, and to constantly nourish this feeling by suggestion. This feeling of inferiority explains a great portion of the psychological and erotic aberrations among soldiers. The latter, who was trampled by those above him, compensated for this by oppressing those under him; his drive for personal achievement and honor, negated by his superiors, had to seek fulfillment at the expense of those beneath him. Both the subservience to one and the brutality to the other, which are regarded as special military virtues, had erotic nuances. Franz Carl Enders has summarized the importance of drill for the soldier in the following way: "The well-trained soldier does everything, aside from the excesses he is guilty of, with a feeling of duty. Obedience to commands is his only duty. To think about the moral justification of a command is the first step to disobedience. As a result of the strong suggestions exercised upon him in training—the indoctrination of the *esprit de corps*, the con-

cepts of military leadership, love for his fatherland—he is gradually gotten to a state of hypnosis, and in order to remember the lesson it is constantly recalled by auto-suggestion. I have made this observation among hundreds of soldiers and in myself too. The brave soldier never asks, ‘Why?’ for he is motivated by the holy duty of obedience. He reproaches himself much more for permitting a prisoner to escape than for killing him without cause. The first is infraction of duty, the second is merely an act of brutality. The first brands the man as a bad soldier while the second leaves no stigma whatever. What is ethically objectionable is the system of education, not the helpless victims of this system.”

It was commonly asserted that those regiments in which the most painful and brutal elements of drill were maintained, even in the face of death, made the best showing in battle. This is quite natural for only through the most powerful mass suggestion is it possible to get men to forget, in moments of grave danger, the natural instincts of self-preservation, and to mechanically obey commands that have been drilled into them. A very vivid description of the soul state of men during an attack is to be found in the novel *Two Days of Heroism* by that serious conscientious observer, Bruno Vogel, who depicts for us the hypnosis, the almost somnambulistic trance in which the men carried out their bloody deeds. All that had been drilled into them in their training-period becomes the dominant idea at the moment of attack, and this idea alone controls the individual. This may be one reason why men forgot the war so easily, because in its most terrifying moments they were not fully conscious. Graves has pointed out that the English called these slaughters of the World War “shows” and has described a scene after a battle in which officers and men faced each other with a feeling of shame, as though they were all drunk (as indeed they not infrequently were).

Of course the authorities didn’t stop with drill and suggestion, with arousing the instincts of cruelty, and with purveying alcohol in order to induce the soldier to give his life for his fatherland. The soldier was left no choice, for if he did not obey the whistle of the commanding officer during an attack, he was killed by this officer. This served as a powerful persuasive for the others. If a panic broke out among a whole detachment of troops the machine guns behind them would take care of the “turncoats”. More than a few men met their death this way. The soldier had to die the death of the

hero or be shamefully murdered by his own comrades. The only way out was suicide which occurred with terrifying frequency.

One of the pleasant aspects of life during the training period, even in war-time, is the well-known "garrison tone" which includes the use of obscenities. An old German army couplet runs:

*Huren, Saufen, Spielen, Fluchen
Heisst dem Mut Erfrischung suchen.*

Of course that morbid sexuality, in which all of militarism is drenched, has always played a special rôle in this vulgarity. Nothing happens during drill or in the garrison without an accompaniment of disgusting obscenities. A whole volume could be filled with this sort of thing, but here we merely refer the reader to Bruno Vogel's *Long Live War*, with its almost phonographically accurate transcriptions of conversations. This obscenity followed the soldier everywhere and constituted the atmosphere which he breathed, and even the elegy sung at his death. We ought to remember that Goethe in his *Campagne in Frankreich* expressed his amazement at the way in which soldiers marched into battle singing obscene songs, but this singing which the soldier was required to do was part of the drill; and, when he was not reminded to sing, he was helped along by drinks and gaiety. A famous joke current at this time among the Germans was the following: "Hello, how goes it?"—"Oh thanks, O.K. One son is in a French prison, the other dead, my daughter bore a child from the first lieutenant, and I myself, just turned forty-six, sing the following song every morning: '*Mädl, geh, spreiz die net, her mit der Büchsl!*'"

It is impossible to set on paper the contents of these foul songs. One of our authorities has found the right words to designate the idolatry of excrement found among the soldiers: "The soldier is nothing more than a walking stomach. All he wants is to eat and to eliminate." The humorous sentence from *Braven Soldaten Schwejk* concerning the commandant whose maxim was: "When the soldier has had his goulash and has been able to eliminate thoroughly in the latrine, he is well satisfied," is a faithful statement of the notion held by more than one military leader. The author of this book has also told us how this venerator of defecation used to inspect his soldiers diligently during their "enjoyment" of the latrine. In the trenches the odor of excrement was mixed with that of blood. Graves is our authority for the statement that the ditches stank from gas, blood, lyddite and latrine. Now just as the gar-

arrison was the repulsive caricature of war life, so the stench of the garrison was an accurate component of the atmosphere of war which prepared the soldier for his calling. Vring has analyzed the odor of the garrison in the following words: "It reeked, it stank of sweat, phenol, urine, vegetable soups which were concocted in the cellar in tremendous vats, of the old rusty cans in which coffee was kept, of men who always ate artillery bread with honey, of leather fat, and, especially on Monday morning, of vomit which those who had been out on a spree had puked into paper baskets. All in all it was an odor which God had not created. This odor was everywhere, and you could not escape it."

We pass rapidly over other phases connected with drill, such as military punishments of which all armies had several forms, including the torture of crucifixion. Another subject that we shall pass over is that relating to the treatment of prisoners. The good soldier was taught that it was better to murder a prisoner than to let him escape. Once the instincts of cruelty had been released there was no stopping them. Moreover the outbreak of sadistic instincts is nearly always a sign of an inferiority feeling and the human being who had been drilled into being a soldier had virtually been made into a walking inferiority complex, an enemy of society. The usual consequence of this was the abuse of unarmed men. Also soldiers were even encouraged to kill the wounded. The leaders of the various armies had a special purpose in this for by exercising cruelty against prisoners-of-war they desired to scare their own soldiers and render them less likely to surrender to the enemy. These cruelties to the enemy had analogues in the treatment of one's own wounded. The sanitary corps of the English army, for example, if they had to make a choice of two wounded, were instructed to pick up the one that seemed most likely to recover and be restored to military service. It is readily understandable that in such circumstances genuine sadists came into their own during the war. Many men had to sacrifice their lives or bear fierce pains in order to afford pleasure to a sadistic officer. A most graphic account of such an officer and his erotic perversion is to be found in the book of Vogel already mentioned to which the reader is referred, *Long Live War*.

Why hundreds of thousands did not flee from this hell by desertion or suicide, we can understand only if we consider the psychological skill with which the soldiers were gradually habituated to war. Jaroslav Hasek has given an excellent statement of this system: "The dirt of the garrison and the meanness of the officers;

the rotten treatment under the hypocritical cloak of care; the horrible food, the awful beds, the stench of the wagons, the fatigue of marching, and the hope that one would not get into actual battle, and that nothing dangerous would happen to anyone. This hope that 'tomorrow everything would be over' prevented the soldiers from fleeing or taking their own lives."

But none the less there were great numbers of deserters during the World War; and at the end of the war there were in every metropolis small armies of these fugitives. The growth in the number of deserters was one of the chief manifestations of the gradual dissolution of the armed power of the Entente nations. Although there were sufficient reasons for all soldiers to free themselves from military service at any price, it was commonly known that the majority of deserters were inferior socially and psychologically and that 30 percent of them had served prison sentences before. Generally the motives for flight were not quite so simple, and there is extant a large literature on the psychology of deserters, the most distinguished contribution to which is that of Dr. Victor Taus, who regarded, as the most frequent motives for desertion, psychic infantilism, neuroses, incapacity to carry out the required tasks and fear of punishment for some trespass, as the man who fled because he had gotten gonorrhoea and feared the punishment. In nearly every case of desertion there were contributory factors of a sexual nature, conscious or unconscious. Then too many men deserted out of motives of sexual jealousy because they heard that their wives were being unfaithful.

In short, all the inhuman, senseless and degrading activities of drill had the purpose during the World War, as at all times, of kneading human beings into one monstrous unity in which there were no human beings, but one enormous unspeakably brutal monster.

Chapter 16

PROPAGANDA AND SEX LIES

Hate Propaganda and Lie Propaganda—Their Necessity as War Weapons—Erotic Undercurrent of War Lies—Sex Lies in Print—Some Sadistic Specimens—Obscene Poster Propaganda—Sadistic Newspaper War Pictures—Sexual Accusations Against the Enemy—German vs. French Lies—Serbs vs. Bulgarians—Fictions Revenged as Facts

AN old proverb, and one that was frequently cited during the war, says that when war comes to a land there are as many lies as grains of sand. Lies were, and remain, a recognized instrument in the waging of war, an indispensable weapon for heightening the lust and enthusiasm for war. This was true in equal measure of all lands during the war. Everywhere war propaganda strove to mislead the native population by divers means. During the critical days of Germany a member of a Reichstag committee made the famous statement, "We were deceived and deluded." Two years after the war, Lord Fisher declared that England had been "fooled into war." The only question is which side was more skillful in employing the weapon of propaganda. It is our opinion that Germany was far behind the art of Crewe House from which issued all the perfected skill of war propaganda of Lord Northcliffe.

War propaganda fell into two categories. Both aimed at increasing the lust for war by aggravating hatred of the enemy. The first category strove directly to make the enemy appear hateful and contemptible. The second class indirectly aimed at the same thing by definite accusations and reports of acts committed during the war by the enemy. On the one hand, then, a hatred was cultivated but no motive was given for it (it may be because it was presumed to be well known or superfluous) and, on the other hand, stories were fabricated which served as nourishment for the hatred. We shall examine both categories with particular emphasis on the mass psychoses thus induced. The erotic coloring of many of these war lies will also be shown.

The psychological attitude of modern nations against war is so well developed that every war must be made to appear as a war of defense against a threatening, blood-thirsty, invading army. Hence, in every land a vast hatred had to be engendered which, instead of appealing to the feeling of conscious membership in a cultural community, appealed to that patriotism which Schopenhauer had called "the passion of the stupid." The success of this propaganda

of hatred cannot be questioned. Philippi sang, "We are become a people of wrath" and it may still be remembered how systematically hatred was cultivated in Germany during the great conflagration.

Although generalizations on this theme are dangerous, it may be asserted that German hatred during the World War was the most systematic of all. We all remember the manifesto of ninety-three distinguished representatives of German science and art in behalf of war. All the methods of mass suggestion—press, literature, art—became subservient to this propaganda of hatred, especially literature whose accommodations to the interest of militarism left nothing to be desired. The contribution of the graphic arts to this propaganda of hatred is the enormous number of graphic productions representing the enemy as an inferior, contemptible and abominable race. To this group belong also all those representations operating with symbolic motives and portraying Germania as an assassin or the French Marianne as a shameless strumpet. In this genre the artists of the Latin lands were undisputed masters, among whom we may mention the series, "Death Dance," issued at Treviso even before the entrance of Italy into the war. Of considerable importance was the effect of postcards distributed in all the warring lands, of which a large proportion were pornographic. The Italian caricatures were distinguished by an even greater obscenity than the French. These scatological pictures, frequently smeared with filth and urine, must have corresponded to a deep-seated psychological necessity. These erotic pictures showed undressed or naked figures and represented not only the *excretio alvi* but also the genitals, and delighted to represent the scrotum particularly as of an enormous size. It was the French soldiers' conception that this organ in the German soldier could be called by the name of *sac de taureau* and its magnification was held to be due to long abstinence. One of these pictures represented a company calling out to its leader, *Femmes, filles! Ou nous f. . . vous!* Many of these pictures had a homosexual note and represented not only German soldiers but German military chieftains as *bougres*. Particularly disgusting are those pictures which represent Germans tortured by starvation as having become coprophagi and depicting them as eating excrement off the streets. Others depicted soilure of German generals by victorious Frenchmen and rapes.

The Italians, not content with such pictures, represented Germans as having coitus with and torturing all kinds of animals,

swine, dogs, cats, hens, goats and ducks. Of course there was no lack of sadistic pictures in which corpses of females were shown piled high and departing troops stuffing female breasts into their knapsacks. Others showed genitals cut all the way through the belly or with firearms or other things stuffed into them. One picture showed a menu card of soldiers containing cannibalistic dishes. In a pot in the foreground there are female breasts boiling and in another corner of the picture a group of soldiers is finding a great deal of pleasure in a dish called *cul de femme froid*. Some of these drawings are so foul that they cannot even be described. We need scarcely say that the movies became an extremely important method of war propaganda.

In order to make the propaganda of hatred more effective it was necessary to choke every aspiration for peace and to brand such yearning as cowardice, or at the best, idealistic dreams. It is well known that, in the first two years of the war, the mere mention of peace was branded as a most contemptible defeatism; and as late as September, 1918, a confidential order from the German censors (collected in the valuables of Kurt Mühsam, *How We Were Deceived*) stated the following: "The press is requested not to publish any statement connected with hope for peace." It is a lamentable fact that the most violent fighters against pacifism were the men of the church and in some cases scientists.

In regard to the lies that were current during the war in the interests of propaganda, it must be said that these lies were not always consciously fabricated and were not the results of conscious activities. War, like every great experience, like every mighty social transformation or natural catastrophe, as revolution or earthquake, liberated psychic forces which became impossible to control by reason. Especially in the first months of the war, there came to evidence a veritable mass psychosis, an epidemic pseudologica phantastica which the authorities strove against but always only to protect their own land from injurious rumors. Lies that injured the enemy were not particularly controlled. There can't be any doubt that the atrocities which the press of all the warring nations played up were for the most part fictions, but that they did appear in the press portrays the degree to which human beings had fallen a prey to mass psychosis. What is most interesting to the historian of morals is that the majority of these accusations were of a sadistic nature. During the whole war, but especially at the beginning, the warring nations accused each other of such deeds which, if

they had actually happened, could only be explained by a complete absence of civilization or by overwhelming sadistic instincts. But the spread of such lurid tales is an index of the feeling of that time. All the sadistic atrocities which were attributed to the enemy had been known from earlier wars in which they really appeared as typical forms of warfare. The cutting off of female breasts, the slitting of bellies, rape and other deeds of violence, did occur in this war also but, to a large degree, individual cases were invented. Just as there was no real war art and war poetry, no new sadistic acts were invented in this war.

A classic collection of sadistic pictures is the very popular war album of the French artist, Domergue, entitled *Les Crimes Allemands*. This collection, based on material provided by newspaper reports and by soldiers, appears to one who is acquainted with the psychology of sex, as graphic projections of persons afflicted with pathological aberrations of the sexual sense.

In a discussion of war lies, from the viewpoint of sexology, there should not be omitted the accusations of certain sex practices to the enemy. Freud has correctly stated that, during the war, even science lost its passionless impartiality and the most faithful servitors of science sought to apply the methods of their mistress to defeating the enemy. The anthropologists sought to make the enemy appear inferior and degenerate, and the psychiatrists endeavored to establish that the enemy was psychopathic. It is as pitiable as it is significant that even men of such outstanding mental capacity as Dr. Iwan Bloch fell a victim to this temptation. In a certain discussion, this celebrated investigator of sex reproached the French with the fact that the Marquis de Sade and Gilles de Rais had sprung from their race, implying that certain conclusions could be drawn from this fact concerning the sexual character of the whole French people. If a scientist of the rank of Dr. Iwan Bloch could speak this way, it is easy to understand how ordinary men would yield much more readily to this temptation. Thus a brochure by Dr. J. Spier-Irving on *Sex Life During the War* contains the statement, "We know that the French soldiers are, in respect to sex, the most depraved, the most swinish, etc."

And, so far as non-scientific propaganda was concerned, French artists and journalists all made it appear as though they seriously believed that all Germans, without exception, were homosexual. The Germans revenged themselves by asserting that all the other aberrations of psychopathia sexualis were French specialties.

Finally, something should be said about the effect of war propaganda. The propaganda of hatred contributed to destroying the barriers, erected by civilization, to the free exercise of instinct. But the campaign of lies went further, and by its attribution to the enemy of atrocities that had never been perpetrated, it called forth in their own soldiers the desire for retribution. This fact had already been observed in the Balkan War (the Hungarian writer, Franz Molnar, devoted an essay to this subject), namely, that because certain bestialities were attributed to a nation, the soldiers of the enemy camp, actuated by the desire for vengeance, carried out in practice these same deeds which, until then, had only been fiction. If, for example, it was asserted that the Serbs executed their prisoners, then the Bulgarians actually did execute whatever Serbs fell into their hands. In this way the fictitious atrocity became the atrocious truth.

During the Great War the nations were well aware of this as is proven by the direction printed on certain French postcards depicting atrocities, "Not to be sent to the front; reprisals must be avoided." Certainly this was not due to any fear that measures of vengeance would be undertaken against Germans for atrocities they had not committed, but to the possible bitterness which the finding of such products on the person of captured Frenchmen would arouse among the Germans. But this campaign of lies had other unfortunate consequences. In the novel of Perhobstler, there is a very moving scene of this sort which describes how an English soldier, who had been severely wounded in his leg, lay for nine days and nights near the German positions without appealing for help because he had been warned by English propaganda against the inhumanity of the Huns. When he was found, his leg was gangrened and generalized infection had already set in. That this soldier lost his life was directly due to vicious propaganda.

But the greatest danger of propaganda lay in that which Nicolai warned us of during the first period of the war: "Hatred survives the provocation to hatred." Nicolai's remark is proved by the fact that even today the peoples have not yet been united; that a short time ago a memorial was dedicated in Belgium, the inscription of which is reminiscent of the war-time; that by the side of pacifistic literature and art, a large number of works are produced in which the hatred of the former enemy is cultivated; that even today atrocities that were concocted during the World War make their appearance in print from time to time; and finally, that these atroci-

ties are set forth in schoolbooks and in this way the next generation is indoctrinated with the poison. As an example of the last point, we may quote a patriotic poem cited by Ponsonby from a volume that appeared recently: "They stemmed the first mad onrush of the cultured German Hun, who outraged every female Belgian and maimed every mother's son."

The memory of mankind is not as short as is supposed. To this day the disproof of the falsehoods circulated by war propaganda has not by any means received the same publicity granted for years to the vicious lies. As long as there is war there will be war lies to justify the carrying out of war; and as long as there exists the hatred of nations nourished by these lies, every opportunity to develop this hatred, however false, will be accepted more readily than unpleasant truths.

Chapter 17

THE BESTIALIZATION OF MAN

Soldiers Grow Indifferent to Murder Horrors—Grotesque Amusements of Soldiers—"War of Filth"—Dirt and Lice in the Trenches—Necessity of Alcohol to Maintain Morale—Prisoners Released for War Service—Civil Criminals Become War Heroes—Lust of Psychopaths for War and Murder—Primitive Black French Troops on Battlefield—Bestial Reversion of Man Necessary—Church Sanctions and Aids Murder—Hypocritical Rôle of Field Chaplains—Animality of Erotic Relations—Immorality of Love Life at Home—Dissolution of Normal Marriage Ties

BY the word "brutalization" or "bestialization" we denote a whole series of changes in the human soul that came to expression during the war, changes in the psyche of the masses, not only in the direct combatants, but in the total population of all warring states. "If we tear the mask of 'steel bath' from the war," wrote Major Endres, "then the true face appears: Brutalization at the front for the purpose of producing a more brutal type of war; and brutalization of the hinterland in order to create and perpetuate a feeling of hatred against the enemy, which is foreign to a cultured people." The literary treatment of this phenomenon was left to *Remarque*, but at the beginning of the war Freud gave us an unsurpassed psychoanalytic treatment of this. He shows that war scratches off the upper layer of culture and permits the primitive man to appear, so that in brutalization we are dealing with that psychological phenomenon which psychoanalysis calls regression. We have spoken of these things before, but what is important, and what constitutes a further proof of the new turn in the history of the war, is the fact that no class of the population remained untouched. The spiritual change, which was undergone by the soldier at the front, was also felt by the whole people even if to a lesser degree.

The life which the soldier led, especially the common soldier at the front, had to have a brutalizing effect. Despite all the achievements of technique which made possible the carrying on of the murderous business of war to a degree previously unknown, the actual fighters in the war had to live on a low primitive level. The external circumstances of their life differed very little from those of primitive men whose lives were continually in danger. They too had to hide from their enemies, to crawl under the earth and into caves. Not even the discipline of war and the muchly praised feeling of comradeship were able to effect the analogy that we

have drawn concerning the external life of the primitive man and the modern soldier, for, after all, primitive man also lived in hordes and obeyed a leader.

The bloody business of war is in itself brutalizing. This is known from all previous wars, but circumstances became much worse in our war due to trench warfare and the new implements of destruction. The war had even greater effects upon the young than upon the old, for the former were more impressionable. As the war continued, the men's senses became dull and the little respect for other people's lives that had obtained among a few of the soldiers, sank to the lowest level. Men were killed as readily as cats and the killer took no thought of what he was really doing. Thousands of letters from the front showed the horror that was felt at first at the destruction of life. Thousands showed the gradual growth of indifference, and still others the soul tortures of those who had to murder against their will. That the few delicate strings of the human heart tended to snap entirely under the strain, and that, as a reaction to the incessant danger of death there developed a senseless drive towards pleasures, is quite understandable and regrettable.

Even militarism without war has brutalizing effects. Long before war was declared, statistics showed the consequences of the proximity of the garrison to the morality of the nearby inhabitants. And of course, during the war, wherever there were armies, the population felt the moral effect of the presence of soldiers and the institutions of militarism.

We have already shown that obscene speech is a natural consequence of a soldier's life, and the speech of the soldiers of every nation contains abundant proof of this. A very outspoken presentation of this viewpoint can be found in the war novel of Erich W. Unger entitled *The Youth Sebastian Goes to War*, but we are unable to quote any of the obscenities found there.

In the relations of man to death, there was a thorough transformation. Freud was the first to investigate this problem and gave a lasting answer to numbers of important questions. In his treatise on war and death, which is undoubtedly one of the best contributions to the psychology of war, he examined the relation of primitive man to death and finds an all-pervasive similarity between the reaction of the latter and the spiritual attitudes of the modern man at war. He came to the conclusion that we are descended from generations of murderers in whose blood lay the lust for murder, as it perhaps lurks in our own blood. The ethical aspiration of

mankind is the heritage of human history. Unconsciously we have almost the same attitude towards death as did primeval man, because in this as in many other ways, the man of bygone ages has survived unchanged in our unconscious. Now it is characteristic of primitive man that he does not believe in his own death, but only in that of the enemy which he carries out without any scruple and which, the murder having been completed, he welcomes with joy. On the other hand, we recognize all too well the possibility of death for the stranger and the enemy and set about inflicting death upon him as unscrupulously and as joyously as did primitive man. Freud held that insofar as we are to be judged by our unconscious excitations, we are a band of murderers just like primitive men. "War again compels us to be heroes, not to believe in our own death; and it stamps strangers as enemies whose death is to be sought and carried out; it impels us to become indifferent to the death of beloved people."

This retrogression into primeval conditions which is a clear example of brutalization in the strict sense of the word, comes to expression in the manner in which the soldiers actually faced death. In *War Letters of Students Who Fell in the War*, we find the following letter of a poor lad who fell in Northern France during October, 1914:

"The sight of the wounded both with light and grave injuries, of the corpses of men and horses that lie all around, undoubtedly brings one pain, but the pain is not nearly so strong and so lasting as one pictured it before the war. Undoubtedly, it is partly due to the fact that one feels how utterly impossible it is to be of help here. But is not this very feeling already the beginning of a grievous indifference akin to brutality? Or else how is it possible that I am more pained by the difficulty of bearing my own loneliness than the sight of the suffering of so many others? What does it avail then that all the bullets and the grenades missed me if I have sustained such injuries to my soul?"

Naturally this writer was quite correct; that of which he was complaining, with so much youthful idealism, was only the start. The longer the war lasted, the more did the human soul sink into the mire and become animalized, and it is highly significant that the English soldiers sang the lovely church song of death and its sting in the following parody: "Oh death, where is thy sting—a—ling—a—ling—?"

The Vienna *Weltblatt* of December, 1914, published the follow-

ing remarkable communication which demonstrates how utterly callous the soldier grew in the trenches:

“Our boys understand very well how to become comfortable in the trenches and they are even able to engage in card games whenever there is a lull in the fighting. At any rate, a letter from the battlefield at Bozen contains the following amusing episode: Three soldiers were lying in a trench near each other and playing hazard. Each one had put in twenty heller, and the object of the whole game was that whichever one of the three would shoot to death the first Russian who appeared would win the sixty heller. About a quarter of an hour later, a Russian made his appearance about 250 paces away. The sentry, who had the edge on the others, shot and killed the Russian, whereupon, his face wreathed in smiles, he joyously pocketed his winnings. The merry gamesters were Reidmüller, Wagner and Habitzl, the last of whom won the prize.”

Philosophers and historians have, for a long time, believed that they are able to measure the cultural level of a people by the manner in which it honors its dead and respects human life. This also goes for war. The longer the war lasted, the more common became the practice of playing with death. This could be observed among all soldiers. Here is what a Hungarian front soldier has written us: “After the bitter fighting at D., near the Eastern front, we moved into new positions which were in a God-awful condition, torn up by bombs and in places completely buried. The fact that under the piles of earth many decayed corpses and parts of the human body were buried, led to the invention of a grotesque game. In one of these mounds there protruded a dirty, filth-covered soldier’s boot. One day—ennui was even more oppressive to us than the monotonous wailing of shrapnel—someone got the idea of bringing out his shoe-polish, and scratching off the dirt and filth, and shining this boot to a high polish. The comrades stood around in a circle and held their sides with laughter. Each one took a turn in the enterprise. Indeed, this polishing of the boot became a daily morning exercise, a sort of game in which no one saw anything grotesque or unusual.”

Graves has related a similar case. But the hinterland did not bring to the greatest of all mysteries, namely death, any more respect than was evinced at the front. Official reports of the death of tens of thousands of the enemy were received either with complete equanimity or with patriotic pleasure, if they were not altogether characterized by a libidinous undertone as in the case inves-

tigated by Magnus Hirschfeld of the sadist who used to get an orgasm when he read of a great slaughter. In general, it cannot be said that the deportment of the hinterland was any more humane than of the soldier at the front. The press, particularly at the beginning, indulged the demand for the most hair-raising atrocities; and that it later moderated its tone was only due to the fact that its readers gradually became dulled to news of this sort, which is also a sign of brutalization. The death and suffering of other people were in this war something which, if they were not regarded as positive sources of pleasure, left one cold. After the specific activities of the war, the numerous executions of that period are another proof of our thesis. It is certainly no accident that, during the war, thousands of pictures were circulated showing the executions of deserters, traitors, etc., and nearly always one finds in these pictures the executor of the death verdict and other individuals who could not forego the opportunity of immortalizing themselves in this way. Particularly famous in this connection was the postcard photograph distributed in large quantities depicting the execution of Dr. Battisti, formerly the Austrian member of Parliament for Trieste, who at the beginning of the war had fled to Germany, was captured by Austrian officers and sentenced to death.

As another contribution to the study of the attitude towards death manifested by people during the World War, we might mention the practice, common in a number of lands, whereby a bereaved person was forbidden to mourn any relative who had fallen in the war. In this connection there belong the metal plates with the inscription "I have gladly given to the Fatherland a dear life" which were supposed to supplant the mourning clothes of the woman.

As has already been mentioned, the longer the war lasted the more progress did the brutalization make. Every day, on every front, and in every nation, animality increased. Every day it was assumed that man who had been endowed with reason could sink no further, but not many days thereafter it would appear clearly that the followers of a Voltaire, Kant or Christ had sunk morally and spiritually below the level of the animal. If the war had not lasted so long, one would never have been able to study all the phenomena of brutalization in their terrifyingly clear form, and so, in this respect, we owe a debt of thanks to the diplomats and military leaders who are responsible for the prolongation of the war. Early in 1916, Hollander wrote that war had already become,

for the soldiers, home and calling; that the army was a people alien to all other peoples; that the language of war was incomprehensible to one outside that realm; that what was formerly regarded as insanity, was now a matter of daily occurrence and habit. Perhobstler also expressed the opinion that war had already become second nature to the soldier who now lived as ordered a life as he had formerly lived behind the plow, or in an office, or wherever his occupation had been. No soldier would be disturbed any longer over water holes, rain or snow, but just obeyed orders, only that if something did not suit him he would say, "Suck my a—," instead of the usual, "Thanks."

The fact that war came to be regarded as a permanent condition is expressed in a number of phenomena. As has been emphasized by Hollander, the institution of furloughs was, after all, a recognition of that fact, yet the front and the hinterland gradually drew further apart. In Arthur Kuhnert's war novel, *The War Front of Women*, the soldier who goes home on furlough expresses the opinion that he, just like the rest of his comrades, is no longer able to establish any connection with the hinterland and with his wife. This feeling of strangeness often expressed itself by the front soldier in his statement that those who had remained at home had become more brutalized than he had. Thus we find in the war book by Charles Edmond, *A Subaltern's War*, that an English soldier has the following thoughts concerning the people back home:

"The misery of the war was calculated to tame the civil population even before us because they had no discipline, they were not united, and they could not be sustained by any war spirit. Fortunately they were not exposed to such difficult trials as the soldiers, but what those remaining at home suffered, they suffered as individuals and they knew only the atrocities of war, only its terror, hatred, pain, suffering and other unpleasantness. They never saw the comradeship and the mutual help without which soldiers in the trenches would be unable to live a single day. Even in regard to the enemy, the spirit of the trenches was more humane than that behind the front, for at the front, stories of atrocities were not fabricated. The duty which compels one to kill the enemy does not compel one to hate him."

How was it possible for war to supplant home for the soldier and, in so many cases, to make him feel as if he were really at home there? If we are to believe military experts, the World War was the last large-scale military enterprise of mankind in which

the method of trench fighting would be used. For the war of the future, according to the most famous representatives of military science will be entirely fought with poison gases and aerial combats. No matter how uncomfortable such prophecy is for us, such a fulfillment will at least have the advantage of removing one great nuisance of the World War, namely, the crass discrepancy between civilized life and the life of the soldier deprived of every convenience of civilization. It was this trench warfare that robbed the soldier of all the blessings of hygiene, a circumstance which could scarcely have been the case in previous wars for the mercenaries of the Thirty Years' War, aside from the danger to which their occupation necessarily exposed them, did not live a life appreciably different from the viewpoint of comforts of civilization from that of the majority of the non-combatants. Of course, the lack of all modern conveniences was felt, even in the World War, only on the line of battle.

There is no doubt about the fact that the war was murderous, inhuman, demoralizing, but, above all things, what Mussolini, who was at that time and remains to this day a rapturous defendant of war, has termed in his diary, "a war of filth."

The most serious problem of the trenches after the inordinate dirt was, by the unanimous consent of all soldiers—the louse. It is well known that things became so bad that any soldier who spent one whole day at the front became irretrievably lousy. Nor were all the cheap jokes that circulated concerning this plague, which was called by the French with the charming term of endearment, *Toto*, able to dispel its obnoxiousness, or the threat to health of the omnipresent vermin. What is more, the sanitary authorities were quite helpless in the face of this plague, and some of the measures that military leaders took to combat it were ludicrous, for they consisted virtually in driving out the devil with Beelzebub. Thus one of the measures, advocated by the Austrian military commandants to combat vermin, was to have all the uniforms and underthings which had become lousy spread out on ant heaps. It was assumed that the ants would quickly consume the vermin. As soon as the ants had swallowed up the lice, the articles of clothing were supposed to be washed with cold water and soap. Wherever possible this method of delousing was enjoined for the Austrian soldier.

Moreover, the industry of the hinterland was much concerned to exploit this plague of lice and numerous preparations were gotten

up to combat it, particularly in England. Concerning the efficacy of the latter, a soldier has written the following:

"The chemicals that were supposed to help us fight against our intimate enemies were quite remarkable. The most successful was a girdle that had to be worn close to the body, manufactured by a large chemical company. According to the statement of the manufacturers, no louse would come anywhere near this girdle but, as soon as they would detect its presence, would scurry away in search of more attractive quarters. But my experience was quite the reverse. I discovered that the lice loved this girdle and used it as home, marriage chamber, hospital and nursery. On this girdle they would take their little walks, mate, lay their eggs and raise their young. Except on those occasions when one of them would die a sudden death by my hand, they would scarcely ever leave the girdle, save in search of food. When the manufacturer of this contraption asked me for a testimonial as to its merits, I was certainly embarrassed. . . ."

In the same vein, Egon Erwin Kisch has written: "The grey salve appears to have been very salubrious for my guests, but it is far from healthy for my body which has become covered with eczema. As much of my skin as the lice and the salve have spared, my own fingernails undermine by night. Today I put on a lot of vaseline but this had no more than a soothing effect upon the skin eruption, and besides that I stink. Involuntarily I think of Job as my bones are bored during the night and those that pursue me never go to rest."

That the dirty, lousy atmosphere of the trench, deprived of all the appurtenances of civilization, had to result in brutalization seems quite plain. This brutalization made the soldier more suitable for fighting. One can actually speak of an interaction between warfare and spiritual demoralization, for each conditions and influences the other. The leaders of the armies were quite clear on this point. Hence, despite all sanctimonious promises, nothing was ever really done to restrain the abuse of alcohol in the trenches. We are reminded of Nietzsche, who anticipated more than one notion of psychoanalysis and individual psychology: "Through alcohol one brings oneself back to a stage of culture which one has transcended." It is scarcely possible to give a more pregnant definition of Freudian regression. Thus alcohol, nicotine and other drugs, so far as they were available, were only an artificially accelerated way to the achievement of a desired state which consisted in a

throwing off of the whitewash of culture, in short, in brutalization. (Indeed, it was scarcely possible to carry out any trench attack if one was not partly drugged.) For this reason whisky was called in the German trenches *kampfgeist* (martial spirit) and on the French lines morale was synonymous with *vin*.

The addiction to drink of the Englishman, especially of the officers, is well known. We may remember the characteristic remark made by the hero of the best-known English war novel, *Journey's End*: "If I had ever gone over the top without having taken some whiskey first, I would certainly have gone mad with fright." The authors of the two best-known war books of England, Captain Graves and General Crozier, both of whom had referred to the predilection of British officers at the front for alcohol, had, as a consequence, to defend themselves against a violent storm of criticism. The controversies aroused by the statements of the authors just referred to, show us with considerable certainty that the life of the English officer at the front was passed behind a veil of intoxication.

From the remarks and notations made by the soldiers of all nations and some military leaders, it is unquestionable that between alcoholism and war there exists a necessary connection, the explanation of which we find in brutalization. To be sure, this condition arises automatically under the influence of war but it is artificially abetted by alcohol and other intoxicants.

In an official order, issued before the German offensive of March, 1918, it was specifically enjoined that on days of heavy fighting, alcohol be distributed to the soldiers. The war book of Bauer contains the following statement: "During the war it was proven that alcohol, taken in moderate quantities, was the best means of maintaining morale and decreasing nervous tension and thereby indirectly increasing the power of work and the joy in achievement." Again, General Otto von Bülow stated that all the military leaders had the experience that a moderate indulgence in alcohol had a very favorable effect upon the mood and conduct of the troops. It was his opinion that many difficult periods could not have been lived through otherwise. Finally let us quote the opinion of Count Luckner: "While breaking through the English blockade with my *Sea Eagle*, I was engaged by an English dreadnought. A few moments had to decide whether I and my sixty-four trusty comrades would lose our boat and our lives or whether we would come through safely. At that moment I resorted to a cure which a Hamburg

friend had given me to take along for my most difficult hour—a century old cognac. After I had taken a few swallows I was freed of every fear and confusion. Heart, spirit, nerves, brain, all worked again in perfect order and so I was able to pass the most difficult test of my life.”

The brochure from which we have taken the last two examples and which contains a large number of similar expressions by German military leaders, appeared as an answer to the famous book of Professor Hans Schmidt entitled, *Why We Lost the War*. It was Schmidt's thesis that the offensives of the spring and summer of 1918, the last heroic endeavors of the German militarism, which were condemned to defeat, fell through because of the intoxication of German soldiers. Despite the wealth of material that this author adduces, he does not quite prove his thesis; nevertheless, according to our way of thinking, the problem of alcoholism during the war is completely independent of defeat in the war. But, on the other hand, as a means to induce regression it is of symptomatic importance for the inevitable transformation of the psyche during war.

Naturally war propaganda did not hesitate to avail itself of this means to slander the enemy. The French, Americans, and particularly the English, all drank, as we have seen and as all war memoirs convince us, not less than the Germans; but the propaganda of the Allies was clever enough to represent excesses of intoxication as a specialty of the German military. A famous French cartoon shows us the “heroic path” of the German army—which consists of the corpse of a murdered child in the foreground and on both sides a horde of empty wine flasks.

It would have been an easy thing for the responsible authorities to control the consumption of alcohol during the war had they wished to do so. But this was by no means the case. The military leaders in every land concentrated their attention upon guaranteeing the success of mobilization and they were interested in controlling alcohol only to the extent of preventing disciplinary crimes. By the way, we should like to cite the following extremely interesting data: During the war about five hundred thousand people, most of them children, died in Germany as a consequence of malnutrition and starvation. At the same time more than fifty million hundredweight of barley were turned into beer and more than one hundred and sixty million hundredweight of potatoes were transformed into whisky. Had Germany foregone beer and whisky every single member of the population would have had, for every day

of the war, thirty-six grams of barley and three-quarters of a pound of potatoes. Professor Weichselbaum has criticized all these military measures in the direction of partial control and pointed to the reason for the lack of success. Let us quote his words: "In general the authorities could not make up their minds that alcohol is the enemy of the army and hence the regulations against the use of the latter were not strictly adhered to; what is more, the tremendous power of the alcohol industries kept up a steady agitation against the limitation of alcohol."

Yet no matter how much people were convinced of the necessity for alcohol during the war and no matter how much the officers of many armies were partial to champagne, the consequences of drunkenness, insofar as they threatened or interfered with sacrosanct discipline, were mercilessly prosecuted. Thus, among the Serbs, excessive indulgence in alcohol was punishable by flogging, in the Austrian army usually with tying up, and among the English with "crucifixion." One reason why the military authorities were so intent upon punishing drunkenness was their fear that drunken soldiers would fall into the hands of spies.

Statistics show that the draconian measures just referred to were justified, for according to Heusch, from 50 to 60 per cent of all crimes in the army were attributable to excessive indulgence in alcohol. (And most of these cases were acute, not chronic alcoholics.)

Essentially the same conditions in respect to the consumption of alcohol obtained in the halting-stations and in the hinterland. Intoxication among the women in England reached a terrifying proportion and was combated by women's organizations of that land with the King personally at the head of the anti-alcoholic campaign. In many French departments there was an enormous increase in the consumption of alcohol and in the intoxication of soldiers' wives.

The importance of tobacco is somewhat smaller but by no means negligible. During the war Professor Arthur Schüller expressed the opinion that, after the experiences with alcohol, some effort should be made to limit the consumption of nicotine in the army. At the front, smokes were available in large quantities and in the military hospitals of the hinterland every holiday was celebrated by gifts of tobacco, and any service contributed by the patients was rewarded by cigarettes. Another military physician, Dr. Schürer, who found a number of cases of nicotine poisoning after every

spree, was particularly impressed by the fact that the majority of the sufferers from this condition were youths, not yet twenty, for which reason he advised that tobacco be withheld from all who had not yet reached their twenty-first birthday.

This excessive indulgence in tobacco, which is prone to pass into a passion, appears to have had a number of droll consequences when the Central powers were already rationing out tobacco in the hinterland, whereas there was still a copious supply of tobacco available for the front. Thus we read the following anecdote in the war novel of the Hungarian physician, Dr. Arthur Munk, concerning his regimental physician: "Even during the fourth year of the war, in the middle of 1917, he refused to go home for any price. No one could understand why he didn't want to knock off for a little while since he had been serving in the army uninterruptedly ever since mobilization. Only I knew why Dr. Weiss refused to go home. And I will betray the secret: the regimental physician was a passionate smoker, a nicotunist. It was that which kept him back. The officer in charge kept him supplied with Egyptian tobacco of a cheap grade on the principle that one never knew when one would have to be at the mercy of the regimental physician. Dr. Weiss smoked cigarettes from the moment he awoke to the last moment before he closed his eyes in sleep; frequently he smoked instead of eating. . . . Dr. Weiss was a prudent fellow and had even laid up a store of cigarettes for days of need. At the same time tobacco was exceedingly scarce back at home and was being parcelled out so parsimoniously that smokers would work for a couple of cigarettes; only women got enough to smoke. (That the majority of women became accustomed to smoking during the war is well known.)"

Other intoxicants were used to lesser degrees but it is obvious that they were much more difficult to obtain at the front. But by the same token they became more important for the hinterland and undoubtedly the vast increase in the use of drugs was due to the war. Many American soldiers became morphine addicts during the war, many as a result of the treatment for gas poisoning. In the English army, the addiction to cocaine seems to have increased at the beginning of the war, according to W. B. Meister; and we have already mentioned that English officers always had morphine tablets on their person.

While regression produced by the environment arose as the natural consequence of accommodating oneself to the milieu of the

front, there were other men whose psyche had previously shown symptoms of regression which made them particularly suitable for life at the front. These were criminals and psychopaths. Every belligerent nation accused the other of freeing its prisoners and drafting them into the army and this accusation was, for the most part, justified, because practically every nation, at the beginning of the war, issued more or less extensive amnesties. And it is significant that these ex-prisoners, for the most part, distinguished themselves on the battlefield.

The distinguished criminal psychologist, Wulffen, speaks not unjustifiably in this connection of a "transformation of criminal impulses into military achievements." He pointed, for example, to the case of one powerful soldier who had won the Iron Cross. This man, who was a non-commissioned officer, had in pre-war times been sentenced to some twenty jail terms for assault and battery and, even during the war, while he was on furlough, he manhandled the corporal and had to be sentenced to three months' imprisonment accompanied by demotion in office. Another example of a criminal who, as sharp-shooter, had shot down forty-five Frenchmen but had himself sustained only slight wounds, for which deeds of valor he had been awarded the Iron Cross as well as a gold medal for bravery.

During the first year of the war, Hungary was aroused by an extraordinary criminal case. A descendant of Bluebeard and a direct predecessor of Haarmann had murdered a large number of women and preserved their corpses in cans. The malefactor, who could not be found at that time, turned out later to have been a man by the name of Bela Kiss of Cinkota, which is near Budapest. It was not until fairly recently that this mystery was solved. According to the newspaper reports, Kiss had enlisted in the army under a false name, had been a brave soldier and had died a hero's death, his heart bored through by an enemy bullet. Before he died, he confessed his secret to one of his comrades who revealed it after twelve years.

In connection with this whole question, Austrian military statisticians came to the conclusion that those soldiers who had ever served prison sentences before the war committed a smaller proportion of crimes during the war and had a larger share in the number of awards for heroism than the soldiers who had never been arrested or imprisoned in their life.

The great American sociologist, Judge Lindsay, evinced an in-

superable optimism when he wrote the following lines: "During the war we freed our criminals from the prisons and sent them to the front. Many of these performed deeds of heroism which involved such conquest of oneself as to prove that when the court had sentenced them it had been in error; and this heroism would never have been discovered in the normal course of events. In every one of these 'bad' people a whole fountain of goodness was waiting to be released."

This conclusion would have been correct had the ex-criminal performed at the front social deeds of philanthropy and goodness; but with some slight exceptions, this is not the case, for what was required of the soldier were quite opposite deeds, namely, of brutality. Moreover, the fact that the second named category of regressives, namely, psychopaths frequently made just as good front line soldiers as ex-criminals, also speaks against Lindsay's view. Of course, this lust of the psychopaths for war and fighting came to clearest expression during attacks in hand-to-hand fights. These people were not nearly as well satisfied with trench warfare. Magnus Hirschfeld has related the following example of a psychopathic intoxication induced by warfare (*Psychopathischer Kampfrausch*): "Once I had to examine a deserter who was feeble-minded. He had been wounded in the West, and, after being treated in the field hospital, he did not return to his troop which was stationed in the trenches near Lille. After several weeks, he was picked up at Girschau on the Weichsel. Asked why he had deserted, he replied, 'I wanted to go to the Eastern front!' The offensive warfare in the East was obviously much more congenial to him than the trench warfare of the West. Without movement the war wasn't any fun at all. His feeble-mindedness showed itself in the childish notion that he could get to the Eastern front alone." (Incidentally, this deserter, Wilhelm Peter J., was an interesting pathological type who also practiced anal onanism. He had the peculiar tendency of boring deeply with his fingers into his rectum and then smearing the filth upon the bedsheets, shirts, walls, bedposts, etc. These grave acts led the judge to assume that this aberration was connected with a homosexual impulse. But Dr. Hirschfeld found that this was not the case: although there was anal onanism, the essential character of these finger borings and filth smearings was not purely a sexual one, but rested on a general psychopathy.)

Professor E. Stransky's opinion on this subject was unequivocal.

He thought that psychopaths did not belong in the army. "Psychopathic inferiors, ethical defectives and criminal individuals cannot be used for the army but, on the other hand, they are very valuable in the zone of battle for their tenacity and daring." The number of such individuals, he thought, was considerable, and they were to be used in the hinterland only with extreme circumspection.

In this connection, we might also mention primitive peoples, as the black French troops, whose conduct in the war was similar to that just described. War is that type of enterprise in which atavistic criminals, psychopaths unhindered by cultural repressions, and all sorts of primitives, are much better suited than civilized human beings who first have to go through the process of regression.

In any discussion of the psychological changes induced by the war there must be included the question of religion and superstition. If our theory of brutalization is correct, then the phenomenon of regression must make its appearance in this realm as well; and here the relation of superstition to religion is comparable to that of primitive impulse to culture. The slipping back from the level of civilization to that of primitive instincts must be a retrogression from spiritualized religiosity to unspiritual superstition. If we can find such a retrogression, then we shall be entitled to speak of brutalization in this realm also.

At the beginning of the war it was the opinion of all church groups that the war would result in a tremendous revival of religious feeling. This was the more to be assumed since the maxim of Luther that "Need teaches us to pray" applied both to the soldiers surrounded by death, as well as to those left at home with their agonized yearnings for their loved ones in the battlefield. War was considered God's rod of chastisement, a misfortune which he had brought upon humanity to convert them to the true faith. On all sides there was prophesized a rebirth of religion; but, alas, this prognosticated emergence of a strengthened religiosity from the storm of steel and blood proved to be erroneous. If today a Catholic theologian writes that "the hope entertained by many at the beginning of the war that a religious renaissance would ensue proved to be an illusion; for it was impossible for material-mechanical powers to produce spiritual-organic results," this appears like a theological justification invented *post-festum* and comparable to the fiasco of the theological justification of the war that had come earlier. But this fiasco is, to no small degree, the result of the

friendly attitude towards war entertained by all the churches of every land.

We will confine ourselves to a few of the crassest and best-known examples. In an essay, entitled *Pity*, by Pastor Gottfried Traub we read the following: "The soldier who makes the enemy unable to fight any longer is acting ethically. Every bullet that does not reach its mark, prolongs the war and not only endangers the life of the soldier himself, but also that of his comrades, and so constitutes a new danger for wife, child and Fatherland. In such a case, pity would be not only folly, but actually injustice. It may appear moving when one writes from the field: 'I cannot shoot this man'; yet this kind of thought is not humane but inhuman, for by his hesitation in killing the enemy the soldier only kills a friend instead of guarding life and peace."

Again, another cleric named Schettler, who was the chaplain of one military division, wrote that the soldier has in his hands the cold iron which he must manipulate without weakness and without softness. "The soldier must kill, must drive the bayonet into the ribs of the enemy, must shatter his trusty sword over the head of the enemy—that is his holy duty, indeed that is his prayer to God." Other messages of the same sort could be quoted *ad nauseam* but there is no point in it; and even those preachments which were not as bloodthirsty and martial were just as enthusiastic for war. To these servitors of man's love for his fellow, pacifism and the yearning for peace were the real atrocities. Pastor Phillips wrote: "The war is not Germany's misfortune but Germany's good fortune. Thank God that the war came. I say it again today even in the third year of the war. And thank God that we don't have peace yet; and I say it again today, despite all the sacrifices. . . . The wounds will soon be healed again and the evil will become worse than before."

It is not difficult to imagine soldiers' reactions to such messages. In the collection of student letters cited above, there appears the following communication from a theology student, Karl Josenhans: "Every word that the parson of our city has written to one of my comrades appears like mockery. He writes: 'We should not wish for the war to end soon because it is not possible.' If only that man could come here once and take a look at us."

After all this, it is not surprising that religion receded in influence and power, not only after the war but during it as well. At a time when everything printed was subject to the strictest control

of the censor, the following blasphemy could appear in the public prints as part of a war novel:

“Our father who art in heaven—fire! fire again!
 Thy kingdom come, thy will be done—these dogs!
 And forgive us our trespasses even—as we forgive those
 who have trespassed against us—shoot! shoot!”

In addition, the deportment of clerics of all sorts at, or more correctly behind, the front lines was not such as was calculated to arouse respect. Dr. Herbert Lewandowski wrote that there was scarcely another figure who could represent the dubious and hypocritical rôle which the church played during the war better than the field chaplain. He accompanied the armies in his elegant officer's uniform, and in his free time rode through the streets of the halting-station mounted on a magnificent animal. Lewandowski once snapped a photo of this well-fed hypocrite which he always treasured as a precious symbol of the church's subservience to and connivance with Anti-Christ.

A little extract from the letter column of Franz Pfemfert's tireless magazine *Aktion*, the only anti-war journal that appeared under the strict German war régime, will give us another insight into the Christian spirit of that time. Here is the letter:

Dear Nina:

If your Uncle Franz will ever try to tell you that in 1918 the feeling of shame was so little developed that professional followers of Christ would call themselves “free-booters of war” (*schlachtenbummler*) and would actually make a public exhibition of themselves in this capacity, you will not wish to believe it. Indeed, I may myself be dubious about it at that time and even be inclined to regard it as an anxiety dream conjured up during the dread days of the war by some professional writer who wanted to appear clever. Let me, therefore, insert herewith the original advertisement:

Monday, June 10, 1918, eight o'clock in the evening

In the great hall of Guerzenich

Lecture with slides

Dr. Pater Expeditus Schmidt

A free-booter of war and field chaplain on the Western front

Tickets at 1 mark and .50 mk.

(This advertisement appeared in the *Kölner Zeitung* of June 9, 1918.)

The rôle of the church in the war, a question which was frequently treated in literature, as, for example, in the rather recent and admirable volume of Fülster, entitled *War and the Church*, found a parallel in the relation of art to war. This also inclined to arouse and maintain enthusiasm for war. The fact that there were a few distinguished exceptions does not alter our general thesis. The regression of the creative impulse from the realm of art to the realm of cheap propaganda, which was manifested on all sides, is a symptom of regression comparable to all the others we have thus far noted.

But while religion and art (and to a considerable degree science as well) had fallen on evil ways, superstition, brought to the fore and purveyed by clever business men, experienced a great period of prosperity. The historian of these "masked religions," Bry, has this to say concerning the flourishing of superstition: "At the very time when the old order seemed to be most firmly fixed in the saddle, when the spirit and soul of man was kept under the strictest discipline, namely in war, superstition began to raise its head. The soldiers and their relations at home began to wear amulets; and the belief in presentiments became widespread—'Today nothing happens to me, today an accident is going to overtake me.' During a time when desire for peace was strong in the hearts of many people, even great newspapers, which ordinarily were protagonists of enlightenment, did not hesitate to open their columns to prophecies concerning the end of the war, the coming of peace, the consequences of war, etc."

As far as the direct participants in the war are concerned, it is easy to see that in an environment like theirs, where human life continually hung by a hair, there was more place for superstition than religion. Where the most senseless tyranny was enthroned, even believers would come to doubt a just providence. We have already hinted that such an atmosphere was particularly calculated to scratch off the varnish of culture and to bring to the fore the primitive man that lurks beneath every civilized being's consciousness. The connections between the primitive-unconscious and the neurotic-superstitious have been revealed by Freud in *Totem and Taboo* and in other works. In those who participated in the World War there came to expression the yearning of primitive man for some security in his life, naked and unprotected against the threats of superhuman powers. In this atmosphere, religion has very little to say. The more there disappeared the trust in one God who sits

upon a throne at some tremendous and inaccessible distance, the more did people turn to the tangible idolatries of superstition. If anybody wants to identify such compulsive acts with religiosity, then it would be better to drop any distinction between religion and superstition. As an example of this we might quote a communication that appeared in the *Judische Volks Zeitung* for November 6, 1914: "A Ruthenian soldier stationed on the Galician front has just written to his wife the following letter:

My Dear Wife:

I am getting along pretty well here and I don't lack for anything. I hope you will do me a favor. Please go to the Jew Chaim and ask him what is the meaning of *Schema Jisroel*. When the bullets are whistling most fiercely around our heads, the Jews say these words and actually the bullets seem to avoid them. Many of us have fallen but practically all of them have remained alive. So won't you please ask the Jewish man what these words mean so that in case of necessity I may use them too?"

The various forms that were assumed by superstition during the war, both at home and at the front, were inexhaustible and the literature on this question is fairly rich. In his book, *Recent Mysticism*, which appeared in 1916, Bruno Grabinski pointed out that a number of herbs and flowers were used by soldiers as protections against danger. Moreover, there were circulated in large quantities in practically every army a great many so-called blessings over bullets so that military authorities had to take steps against this form of superstition. In other cases, however, the authorities abetted business men in exploiting the great demand for all forms of amulets, etc. Thus the sale of luck rings was abetted by the Austrian military leaders.

A superstition that was very common in the Central states, and which may be observed even today, was the aversion of three people to take a light from the same match. Wiseacres said that this notion was invented by match manufacturers in order to increase their business; but insofar as this practice was common at the front, there was at least another reason for it, namely, that it was inadvisable to leave even a little match flame burning long enough to have three people get a light from it, for even this brief time might be sufficient to arouse the attention of the enemy.

That such superstitions could become a mass psychosis is proven

by the story of the angel of Mons, concerning which Bratl has left us a full report. After the battles at Mons, there arose among the English soldiers who had participated in the fighting the inexplicable rumor that in the midst of the battles, angels had descended from the clouds in order to separate the combatants. This report, which very likely took its origin from the fever of a delirious soldier, spread like a prairie fire. Pretty soon the "angels of Mons" had become a veritable epidemic and everyone asserted that he had seen them clearly and some even described their clothing and appearance. Finally, several Tommies asserted under oath that the angels had been hovering in the clouds and had protected the English soldiers from the enemy with outspread wings. The London newspapers were full of these reports. Physicians and university professors explained the phenomenon in long and very serious articles, and it took a little while before the spirits of the men calmed and the angels of Mons vanished from memory.

It is notorious that during the war years much money was made by fortune-tellers, card-readers, magicians and exploiters of superstition. In Berlin, action finally had to be taken against the nuisance of fortune-tellers. On this point Alfred H. Fried has remarked significantly à propos of the prohibition of fortune telling in Berlin: "Did this take place because of disgust at the disrespect to science or because of the wish that during the war nothing should be prognosticated concerning the future, neither truth nor falsehood?"

A unique event was the exhibition of war superstitions and articles connected with them, such as amulets, protective letters, etc., arranged under the direction of the astronomical observatory at Treptow. In France, there appeared at this time a magazine called *The Future of the Next Week* which undertook to provide for its credulous readers, week by week, a prophecy of what the next eight days would bring forth.

The most popular amulets among the French soldiers were the two historical fetishes, the little figures of Nenette and Rintintin; and before we conclude this brief sketch of superstitions, let us point out that the French were able to clothe this superstition with an erotic and playful sort of disguise. Pierre MacOrlan wrote that the tender *marraines* sent these figures to the front, and that the motives of these acts was charming and innocuous. Like Till Eulenspiegel, Nenette and Rintintin were a portion of the genius of their land, according to this writer, and they incorporated the idea that

the weak creature is able to guard other weak ones against the stupid misfortunes which human reason has called into being.

How the tendency of brutalization worked itself out in the erotic realm, whether on the battlefield or in the hinterland, can be determined from the relevant data aside from the fact that it is a logical conclusion from the premises of war. The achievements of thousands of years of civilization in this realm have unquestionably resulted in a more or less successful spiritualization and refinement of the primeval instinct. This process of refinement the war partly interrupted and partly destroyed and produced in the erotic realm, as elsewhere, large numbers of obvious regressions. People have spoken, and certainly not without justification, of the animalization of morality and erotic relationship as consequences of the war to which Professor Baumgarten has devoted a chapter in his Carnegie book mentioned above. As instances of this barbarization, he mentions the war marriages entered into without any scruples, the utter recklessness of love life at the halting-station and at home, the loosening and dissolution of marriage ties, etc. We add to that all the manifestations of eroticism at the front as well as of love life in the war brothels, prisoners' camps, hospitals and garrisons. Since we have treated all these phenomena of the war already, we merely want to affirm in this connection that this aspect of life can also be regarded in the light of brutalization. Like all the other expressions of life, love was not able to escape the devastating effects of the war, which, as H. Vorwhal has said, "was a moratorium of ethics. What centuries of evolution had accomplished in refining human sensibility was eradicated and there ensued a wild, primeval barbarism, a liberation of utter animality and an enthronement of atavistic criminal instincts which made possible the achievements that were valid during the war." To the proof that this was true in the realm of sexual morality, the great portion of this work is dedicated.

Chapter 18

SADISM, RAPE, AND OTHER ATROCITIES

Modern vs. Past War Atrocities—Violation of All International Agreements—Poison Gas Horrors—Poison Gas for Civilian Population in Future Wars—Atrocities Committed by Turks, Kurds, Slavs, Etc.—Eroticism Behind Numerous Cruelties—Mutilation of Corpses—Primitive Savagery of Black French Warriors—Amputating Ears, Fingers, Etc.—Castration of the Enemy—Examples of Feminine Degeneracy—Their Mutilation of Soldiers' Genitals—Other Examples of Sadism and Torture—The True Story of the Armenian Massacres—Atrocities in Eastern Prussia—Rape During the World War—The Problem of War Babies

IN the course of our discussion we have emphasized that war, because of reasons deeply founded in its own nature, as well as in that of human nature, makes a bid for all the primeval instincts of men which have come down to us as a heritage from prehistoric times. Among these the instincts of cruelty and brutality, the impulse to destroy, occupy the first place. Civilization and culture have set strong limitations to the satisfaction of these human desires. Whenever, in individual cases, they do manage to come to expression, such manifestations are in normal times regarded as anti-social, or, in other words, crimes, and as such are punished. Criminology regards the latter as phenomena of regression, or explosions of atavistic instincts.

War offers these atavistic instincts comparatively free play, and encourages them through suggestion in drill and propaganda. Moreover, the motivation and vitalization of these primeval instincts are facilitated by the unconscious suggestion of mass allegiance. As a result of the tendency to imitate and to disappear within a mass, the individual is automatically enabled to perform certain deeds appropriate to ages long since transcended. The only dam erected in war, against the instincts of destruction and cruelty serves to direct this force against the enemy. Only the enemy must be destroyed. Only his goods must be plundered and ruined, only against him must acts of violence and brutality be carried out.

All other limitations rest on illusions. An attempt has been made to differentiate between superfluous and necessary cruelty and, in accordance with this attempt, the period before the war saw a number of peace conferences which went at their job very seriously. The post-war conferences continued this method on another level in that they set up various programs of disarmament; the outcome of this was that limitations were set to the expansion

of naval and land forces, but nothing whatever was done about limiting the production of the two chief methods that will characterize future wars—aircraft and poison gas. So in the decades before the war there was created a public opinion which believed that a humanization of warfare was possible. Even at that time, experts warned against such illusions, which later proved so bitterly disappointing. For example, a Prussian general stated that in war the greatest inhumanity was the greatest humanity because it led to a more rapid ending. Sternberg, the Prussian Secretary of State, speaking in regard to the war in southwest Africa, stated emphatically that humane warfare was an impossibility.

The utter uselessness of attempting to humanize war was manifested clearly during the World War. On the one hand, the primitive instincts which had been released could not be easily controlled, and, on the other hand, the efforts at humanization were rendered futile by the tremendous development of military technique which took place after the outbreak of the World War. In this way the great war presented a new factor in world history: that whereas in former wars one had to contend with crimes and war atrocities—of which, of course, there was no lack—now it was the technical inventions. This applied to the methods of warfare, prohibited by international agreement, whose employment by the enemy was greeted with stormy disapproval but which, none the less, was used by both sides alike.

The most important of all these was poison gas which will play an important rôle in future wars. As to the World War, the exhaustion of Germany, the supply of fresh troops by the United States, and the employment of tanks prepared the way for the end of the war in 1918, but the decisive, direct cause for terminating the war a year later was the introduction of American lewisite. Poison gas was used on the Eastern front against the Russians three months after the outbreak of the war. The effect on the surprised Russian troops was terrific. In the hospitals and on the steps and doorways of the hospitals the unhappy victims of this demoniac device lay with blue, bloated faces and bloody foam at their nose and mouth. About 90 per cent of them died from pulmonary edema, a typical symptom in nearly every case of poison gas. Despite the suffocating atmosphere during the ensuing days and weeks, the German military authorities were satisfied with the results and a few months later, in the early part of 1915, this new method was introduced on the Western front at the battle of Ypres.

Europe was aghast. The *Times* wrote of the "bestial warfare and diabolical invention" which did not, however, prevent the British from developing gases of their own; and three years later the *Daily Mail* shouted for joy that the British and French gases were being used more and more effectively. Besides, it is by no means clear that poison gas was first used by Germany. The French Ministry of War, as early as March, 1914, ordered gas hand grenades. Furthermore, as Haber has reported, the Parisian police had been provided with tear gas in one of their raids against the famous den of Apaches. We must remember that, in the World War, gases were only used against soldiers, which will certainly not be the case in the next war, for the ultimate consequence will be the gassing of whole populations of cities. We cannot share the sanctimonious horror at this form of warfare but must rather direct all our horror against war itself for gas warfare is only a consequence of technological development. But there is no doubt that the soldier, poisoned by gas, who spits out his very gall or who, after weeks of indescribable agonies, goes to ruin, is an original creation of the World War and that war gas itself is the most terrific atrocity which the great "steel bath" poured out upon us.

Similar horror greeted the aëronautic expeditions carried out against great cities like Paris, London and Karlsruhe in which the ancient distinction between combatant and civil population was completely destroyed, and which introduced a new type of warfare where such a distinction is wiped out. Other distinctive atrocities of the World War were the German submarine warfare and the blockade carried out by the Allies against the Central powers whose civilian victims, in Germany alone, have been estimated at 763,000. If, in addition, we remember the effects of modern fire-arms and canons, the dimensions which mass-murder assumed in this war, the consequences of a great naval battle—of which fortunately there was only one—like that near Skagerrak which filled the North Sea with corpses and changed its water into blood, then we have some idea of the fearful atrocities of the war.

But let us turn from these things connected with the essential immorality of war to the *Sittengeschichte* which has more to do with the psychological aspect. It is well known that valuable art treasures fell a prey to outbreaks of vandalism, but we share the opinion of the pacifist Fried that, while there was no justification for such rapine, it was virtually of no significance by comparison

with the taking of the lives of myriads of human beings and that everywhere war was destroying the sense of value.

We have already mentioned that, by the side of the mass crime of the World War, the significance of all those atrocities which had set their stamp upon earlier wars of mankind definitely receded. The historical atrocities of war are more or less atavistic. Individual acts of cruelty, often with a definite erotic cast, and rapes were perpetrated during the World War principally by the more primitive groups, such as Russians, South Slavs, Turks, Kurds, as well as the colonial contingents.

As far as the instinct of cruelty is concerned, its connection with eroticism is clear and appears in every variety of sadism. Now there can be no doubt that it was sadistic drives that found their expression in the large number of cruelties perpetrated during the war. In a great percentage of cases the lust for murder was nothing more than masked passion, but today it is impossible to draw the line between "normal" murder and that with orgiastic components. Murders are frequently committed in peace times with premeditation; often as a result of great emotion; and only a very small percentage of murders are preceded by rape. Wulffen has said that the lust for murder always comprises a sadistic element which comes to clearest expression in murders preceded by rape, in which passion and cruelty are indistinguishably connected. In the latter, the sexual motives are clear, but in the lust for murder, they are frequently disguised. During the war, outbreaks of cruelty and destructiveness with a sexual undertone are more frequent than in peace times, because there are more opportunities for satisfying such impulses. Whereas in normal times the crime of murder connected with rape appears only where there is a predisposition for it (and even here rarely), the war makes possible the acquisition of such a predisposition, by overcoming tendencies that normally prevent the outbreak of such impulses. Sexology recognizes, besides the primary sadistic lust for murder which eventuates in murder preceded by rape, a secondary sort that arises as a result of the impression of the war. In other words, war tends to excite the libido in general and the sadistically colored impulses in particular. Not only does the sadism of many soldiers result in sadistic actions, whose acme is murder connected with rape, but conversely the experiences of war can arouse in every man slumbering sadistic components.

It is fairly easy to diagnose rape connected with murder after

examining the more intimate circumstances under which the murder was committed. The important earmarks of such a murder are the injuries or mutilations inflicted upon the corpse. Generally, such a murderer is not content to inflict the fatal blow, but continues to inflict injuries upon his victim writhing in pain or already dead. Many times the satisfaction is not afforded by the act of killing itself, but rather in inflicting these wounds. (In his famous poem on murder connected with rape, Baudelaire has spoken of the new "lips" on the body of the murdered beloved.) Corresponding to what we know from criminal psychology—that such murders are, in general, committed by degenerates, inebriates and epileptics—mutilations of the slain enemies during the World War retained their atavistic character. They were carried out principally by the primitive soldiers, and, above all, by the Turkos, the black French warriors whose cruelty was especially notorious. Perhaps it would be advisable to cite some examples of this conduct.

In one German journal it was recorded that, on the night of September 6, a detachment of German soldiers found half a dozen Turkos one of whom had in his knapsack a bunch of fingers adorned with rings cut off from the hands of slain enemy soldiers, while another had a head in his knapsack. Other Moroccan soldiers were reputed to have collections of ears in their knapsacks. In his *Good-bye to All That*, Graves has related the case of a Turko who used to come for food to the chef of the officers' mess. One day the latter told him, in jest, that no more food would be given him unless he brought the head of a German. Shortly after the Turko returned bearing such a head in his knapsack. The same chronicler confirms the report that Turkos would cut off the ears of slain enemies and carry them as trophies.

Mutilations such as castration of the slain enemy were thoroughly sadistic. In previous wars, especially revolutionary struggles, this practice was not infrequently perpetrated by women but it was not always attributable to sexual passion. It was Wulffen's opinion that the dominant motivation for this type of brutality was not lust, but political fanaticism. The reason why violence is exercised upon the sexual organs of the dying or dead enemy springs from some obscure desire for vengeance. This mania derives these degenerate women to destroy that very member of the helpless man which had formerly been responsible for so much unhappiness to women. Yet there can be no question that in the execution of these sadistic acts, sexual excitations are aroused and gratified. Wulffen

asserted that even in the World War such degenerate females frequently castrated dead or gravely wounded soldiers who were lying on the battlefield. Still, this was not a typical phenomenon and literature has reported no such case. On the general theme of the mutilation of genitals, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld wrote as follows during the war:

“At the beginning of the war, when the inflamed minds of people were inclined to exaggerate the actual atrocities of the war, there was considerable talk not only of eyes that had been torn out, hands that had been cut off, but also of the excisions of genitals. As far as I have been able to trace, I have not discovered a single proof. That such criminal mutilations did take place in previous wars is certain. The mutilation that was practiced against women, such as cutting off the breasts, were the gory deeds of the Russian pogroms.

“Of course, the purpose of robbing men of their testicles, was not only to destroy the possibility of reproducing one’s kind, but also the more or less conscious purpose of making the injured men unfit for war service. Of all the castrates that I have seen, not one seemed capable of meeting the rigorous demands of war.”

It appears that among the Southern Slavs sadistic murders, mutilations, castrations and rapes were very frequent. Of course, we are dealing here with peoples whose history, even in the twentieth century, is one long, breathless fight for existence and whose bloody Balkan wars, notorious for their cruelty, constituted a sort of experiment for the World War. What is more, these peoples have remained behind the rest of Europe in civilization and have retained their primitive traditions. Only during the Great War did they enter the stage of world history. At this point we wish to insert an account of their war practices, based upon their century old traditions, from the pen of the eminent sexologist and ethnologist, Professor Friedrich S. Krauss:

“For fifty-three months and eighteen days I worked in the war hospitals of Vienna as teacher to the south-Slavic wounded, and from their mouths I heard first-hand accounts of unspeakable atrocities committed by them during the war. This material would make a large work and here I wish to give only a few extracts from the extensive material I have collected. I should like to preface my account with the statement that the Balkan Slavs no less than the Slavs of the north and the west are kindly and peaceful in their peasant and middle-class groups, but their minds are more easily poisoned. There was spread among the people various terrifying

tales concerning the cruelty of the enemy which aroused in these simple gullible folk such a hatred of the enemy that for the welfare of the Fatherland, whose highest and dearest achievements were being threatened, it was thought necessary to extirpate the enemy root and branch.

“The whole educational system of the southern Slavs was used for arousing and propagating this brutal hatred. The majority of these peasants are illiterate and derive what little they know of the world from Guslar songs which, for the most part, celebrate the fame of great destroyers, murderers, executioners, vandals and founders of states. Thus a Bosnian Guslar ballad tells how the Christian champion, Lukas, was ambushed by the Moslem knight, Rustan, and his horde in the mountains and how he killed them and took Rustan’s head along as a trophy of victory. Even at that time, it was a common practice not to kill hated enemies, whom one had captured alive, but to tear the skin from their bodies. Lukas varied (and accelerated) the effects of the latter process by cutting off, to quote the words of the song, ‘the life’ or the penis (in French also one says, *la vie*). And so, before Lukas left the field of battle, he cut off the organ of every one of his fallen foes. Why? For two reasons. First, because he believed that by carrying around this booty of his enemy, the life of the conquered, which means their power and might, would be transferred to him, the conqueror; secondly, because in this way, even if the enemy should come to life or recover, it would be impossible for him to propagate any more enemies or avengers; and thirdly, because with these trophies one could show off before one’s friends, much as Occidental warriors take pride in their medals, crosses, orders and high-sounding titles.

“One day when there were about 120 wounded in my barrack schoolroom, one of my men arose and began to sing a ballad denouncing war. After this was completed another one of my pupils, a man of forty, said the following: ‘Now I am in the barracks for the venereally diseased. At home I have a wife and three children. I was so happy with them. How will I be able to show myself there? There were four of us in Serbia together one evening and suddenly a Serbian girl approached us and begged for a piece of bread, saying that she hadn’t eaten all day. In return for this, she declared herself ready to give herself to us. Each of us gave her a piece of bread and a bit of wurst. All four of us were infected by

her; I was brought to Vienna, but I don't know where the other three went to.'

"A Serbian who belonged to the academic class once told me how the Serbians had lived in Macedonia. They used to swoop down on a town, make all the men shorter by a head and then consort with the wives and daughters, with no regard to religious or national affiliations. As a matter of fact, veritable markets for women's flesh were established here. Whole groups of pretty women were sold to Greece and even to India, and this business flourished tremendously. On the soil of Macedonia, the Serbians, Bulgarians and Greeks fought out their feuds. The chief impetus to these was given by the Komitadzijas, bands of guerrillas, desperate, violent men dedicated to avenging the atrocities perpetrated against the native population. The women of the oppressors were raped and, if boys and men were captured, they were raped in the same homosexual fashion as the enemy practiced.

"It must not be thought that castration was perpetrated only by the Serbians among the Slavs, as Bulgarians engaged in the same practice. Although it is ridiculous to read such a statement, the Serbians used to reproach the latter with this brutality. The protest of the Serbians was perhaps justified because the Bulgarians mutilated boys also—which violated good old South Slavic war practice. Such things the Serbians would not do; thus a Guslar ballad of my collection describes the visit of Serbian knights, among some of the leaders of Bulgaria, in the course of which the invaders simply put every living thing to the sword.

"In a democratic newspaper of Belgrade there once appeared a statement of the Serbian case against the Bulgarians so far as moral justification was concerned. It was virtually a catalogue of atrocities perpetrated by the victorious Bulgarians against the conquered Serbs. Among other things, this statement accuses the Bulgarians of killing mothers and leaving the infants at their breasts until the poor things also died; of cutting off the sexual parts of male children and beating women upon the naked abdomen.

"To describe fully all the details of the manhandling and ravishing of captured enemies would be a worthwhile project, but it is repulsive to me to describe the manner in which the sadistic conquerors took delight in the sufferings of the helpless entrusted to their keeping—how they would hurt them with malicious words and actions and finally abuse them sexually. . . . During the war there were also cases where prisoners were tied to a tree and their

sexual organs torn off or covered with honey in order to attract ants and flies. Another repulsive manifestation of cruelty was the practice of dipping into human excrement all the food that was given to the prisoners-of-war. Prisoners, crowded together in extremely close quarters, had to attend to their natural needs in the little space which was assigned to them for living. Another bit of cruelty was to feed the prisoners herrings and salted fish, and then deprive them of water, a cruelty worthy of ranking beside any of the refined tortures of the Inquisition.

"All that I have here set forth is only a superficial sketch indicative of the material that I have gathered in the course of many years, and which I am constrained to publish as an ethnologist and investigator of primitive human impulses."

At this point we must treat the two greatest mass crimes of the World War—that in Galicia and that in Armenia. Both show the same sadistic trend and, in general, exhibit marked similarity. In both cases it affected a border people whose patriotism was doubted by the oppressors. While it is true that the Galician atrocities of the Austrian military authorities do not approach the incredible brutalities of the Turkish overlords against the Armenians, in point of scope and comprehensiveness, it is, none the less, true that unrestrained military bestiality was responsible for such sacrifices of human life in the eastern portion of the Danubian monarchy as eclipsed all the atrocities committed by the German invaders of Belgium. From Fritz Wittel's novel, *Zacharias Pamperl*, which contains much truth, we quote a description of a typical case which was an every-day occurrence in eastern Hungary and Galicia after the beginning of the offensive.

"Directly behind the city the troops received the command to halt and wait for further orders. Everyone was speaking of spies and treachery, of buried telephone wires, of light signals which the peasants were exchanging with the enemy, of sniping, etc. The dragoons entered the town from the rear, and, as they came by a little groups of peasants, one of the dragoons shouted out that among those peasants there was one who had shot their sergeant-major of cavalry from behind. Thereupon the dragoons drew their swords and slew everyone of the group—men, women and one girl—so that no one remained alive. The heap of corpses lay piled in a great lake of blood which was growing continually larger as the blood poured from the open wounds.

"In the evening another case arose for consideration. In the

pockets of a sixteen-year-old boy had been found a few rubles. How did they come to him? Obviously he must be a spy. A number of other cases were found where the evidence was somewhat clearer and all of these people were accused of collusion with the enemy. No pity need be shown for these people as they were all Russified. If so many braver men had died, why shouldn't these fellows be hung? Such was the feeling among the corps commanders. The judges could do nothing against this feeling, which so far as hanging was concerned, was only carrying on an old Austrian tradition. His Excellency, the commander, became angry with a few judges who dared to express the opinion that penalties should be imposed only when evidence was available. War could not be fought that way, he insisted. It was necessary to set examples, and there was no reason why a few devils shouldn't swing. Austria was not unified like the other nations; her boundary and minority groups everywhere were inclined by religion, language, education and culture to the enemy of whose race they were members. This was no time for pity or justice; there was only one way to keep these 'subversive' people down—the iron-hand of the gallows. And so, late that evening, the five who had been accused of contact with the enemy were hanged in a public square."

More intimately connected with our theme than the atrocities in Galicia, where the sadistic impulses can only be guessed at, is the extirpation of the Armenian population of Turkey which was undoubtedly, as Lord Bryce stated, "the hugest single crime that was committed in the whole course of the war." The 1,200,000 civilian victims of this mass-murder constitute murders, rapes, thefts, pandering and traffic in women's flesh, and cruelty unparalleled in the history of the world.

When the war began, there were about two million Christian Armenians in the Turkish domain, and about one and a half millions in Russian territory. Although the Turkish Armenians were loyal to their land, a fact explicitly recognized by the then minister of the interior, Talaat Pascha, the Young Turkish government, which owed its very existence in no small degree to the Armenians who constituted the largest professional group in Turkey and participated in all progressive movements, decided to get even with the "hateful enemy within the land." Times were especially favorable for this.

Through its entry into the war on the side of the Central powers, Turkey had been released from the control of Europe which had

in 1878 guaranteed protection to Armenians. Early in 1915, after Armenian leaders had been arrested and all men capable of bearing arms conscripted into the Turkish army, all remaining Armenians living in Turkey were ordered deported. The ostensible purpose of this deportation was to assign the Armenians new dwelling places in Arabia. However, a coded cable from the Pascha already mentioned (Tailirian, an Armenian student, assassinated him in Berlin in 1922, and was acquitted), contained the shameless directions: "Special diligence must be shown in extirpating the persons in question (the Armenians). . . . The place of exile is *Nowhere*. I order you to act this way." The carrying out of this deportation order, which Turkish officials tried to justify by totally false accusations of armed Armenian uprisings, was of terrifying bestiality. In every place, aside from a few in European Turkey, the Armenians were notified of their impending exile, given only a few days' grace in which to sell their belongings and were then driven out of the cities and villages in hordes under the escort of Turkish gendarmes. The men who marched alone were attacked in the mountainous districts through which they had to pass in their trek by semi-savage nomad tribes, principally Kurds, who robbed and then murdered them. Great numbers of women, girls and children, when they were not captured on the way and sold in the slave market, died of hunger, disease, exhaustion or were killed by the gendarmes and Kurds. In Aleppo there was a camp for these deported, and concerning the conditions at this place we wish to quote the following words from a German memorandum which was read at the Peace Conference by Wilson:

"Caravans which, when they left home, comprised thousands of individuals, had been reduced to only a few hundred when they came to Aleppo. All along the journey the fields were strewn with black swollen naked corpses, for they had been robbed of their clothes, befouling the atmosphere with their stench. Some, tied back to back, served as a dam to the Euphrates or food for the fish. . . . These victims died all the deaths of the earth of all the centuries. I have seen people, crazed by hunger, who ate for food the excrement of their own body; women who cooked the flesh of their newly-born children; girls who had cut open the still warm corpses of their mothers to seek the money which the dead had swallowed in fear of the Turkish gendarmes. In decayed caravans, these horrible relics of humanity lay among heaps of half-rotten corpses, waiting for death. How long could they sustain their

miserable existence with seeds culled from the dung of horses or with grasses?"

To illustrate the cruel treatment to the forced marchers, we cite from the book by Nansen, that noble friend of humanity: "Of the 18,000 deported from Kahrput and Siwas, only 350 reached Aleppo; and of the 19,000 who had set out from Erzerum only eleven remained alive." With what sadistic cruelty this result was achieved is clearly portrayed by these two harrowing instances which have been culled from a multitude of similar examples:

"According to the account of an Armenian member of a work battalion, the men of their village were led out under heavy guard. At the outskirts of the town there lay a pile of clothing which they recognized as having belonged to their comrades. Now all of them were commanded to remove their clothing, retaining only their shirts. When this had been done, they were bound together, two by two, with bloody ropes and then commanded to march. After a few moments' march, during which they passed a pile containing the bodies of their massacred comrades, a number of whom were still quivering in their last death agonies, they came to a projecting rock. Now the gendarmes and Turks, who had driven them from the city, denounced them as traitors to their country and removed their ropes. One after another, the unfortunate victims were compelled to jump from the rock—passing between two gendarmes who struck the victims with a long knife before they jumped."

A twelve-year-old-boy, who was deported, told the following story:

"On the way one of my girl cousins got a bad foot. When she was unable to walk any further, the gendarmes gave her a kick, knocking her off a cliff. Her mother who was present also had swollen feet but her body was strong. She did not wish to go any further either but the gendarme drove her on and she was one of the few people who remained alive. The other persons who were unable to proceed were left by the wayside where they either starved to death or were slain by the gendarmes. When a young woman or a girl remained behind, a gendarme would generally ride back to her and soon we would hear frightful screams. At such times my aunt would say it was better that her daughter had been hurled into the abyss by the gendarme. But we were very sad over it since she had always been so lovely to us children and was so very young."

The arrested leaders of this martyred people did not fare any

better. All the tricks of the inquisition were used with them. The priest, Falikian of Everek, was executed by means of a vise, or pressing machine, which would every day be turned on for a little while. Another man, Agop Kaitangan, has reported the following concerning his imprisonment: "For many days I was bastinadoed and it got so that I actually preferred death to this life of torture. One day while I was being tortured I asked for permission to go out to perform a natural function. I had a knife with me so I cut an artery and opened up my sexual organs. My blood flowed un-stanching and I fell into a faint. They hastened to my help and immediately resumed the torture. In insane desperation I tore my organ from its moorings and hurled it at the head of the official who was torturing me."

The path of sorrows of this nation of two million condemned to martyrs' deaths was literally strewn with the corpses of deflowered women. The facts are too horrible to need comment. We shall cite a few of these and only desire to say that these are not creations of a fevered imagination, but cold facts. The gendarmes of the escort who had complete power over the life and death of their human victims abused, in wholesale fashion, the girls and the women, and then murdered them. At the end of 1915 there lay on the dam, between Tel Abiad and Rasul-Ain, heaps of naked, ravished female corpses. Many of these had cudgels driven into their rectums.

One of the deported told the following story: "The chief of the escort saw, in the caravan, a young girl whom he desired to have. He approached us with a company of Kurds and said, 'Give me the girl at once or I shall turn you all over to these fellows.' His attitude showed that he would not hesitate to fulfill his threat. This was the price for the rescue of the whole caravan. We threw ourselves at the feet of the young girl and begged her to consent. She remained silent, then burst into tears, but finally consented. . . . I was deported together with my mother. Halfway along the journey a man, a Tscherkessian, asked for some money which my mother insisted she didn't have. He then began to torture her until she finally gave him six livres which she had hidden in an intimate portion of her body. . . . He then cut off one of her arms, then the other; still unsatisfied, before my eyes, he cut off both her feet, then he violated me before the eyes of my dying mother. . . . The Kurds raped an enormous number of young Armenian girls. Those who resisted were slain, and the beasts satisfied their monstrous passion even on the dying ones. . . . Thus one sixty-year-old man

noticed a pretty girl of sixteen who would not give herself to him. She was offered the choice between the old man and death, and refusing to submit, she was slain."

Those girls and women who escaped rape and murder by the escort were laid hold of by the Mohammedan inhabitants in the districts through which their procession passed and were either put into harems or sold into slavery. Even children met the same fate, many being converted to Islam and disappearing. There grew up a traffic in girls and children such as had not been seen since the crusades. In the Mohammedan cities, markets were held at which Armenian girls were sold cheap. Virgins sold for twenty piasters while young women or widows went for five. One of the deported girls, Miss Torikian, related that the Musselmen of the neighborhood took girls from the caravans. Every evening the Kaimakam and his aids would arrange orgies at which young girls were forced to dance naked, those who refused were slain by the bastonnade. Of another caravan it is related that, after the infants and children were stolen, the mothers were compelled by violence to surrender their young daughters. Frequently the hands of the mother were chopped off in order to tear the daughter away. Thereupon the clothes of the latter were torn off and in the open field, before the eyes of all, she was ravished. All the pretty girls and women were driven into harems, and eye-witnesses related that these women were exhibited naked in the market of Aleppo and other cities where they were sold to the harem master who paid the highest price.

The American consul at Kharput reported in 1915 that many persons, who scarcely retained any vestige of human appearance and were hardly able to drag their feet along, had arrived at Kharput from Erzerum. No sooner had they arrived than two Turkish physicians appeared to select any young girls that might still be serviceable for Turkish harems. These he turned over to the harem dealers. At the same time a physician, Niepage, saw numerous Armenian girls hiding in Christian homes of Aleppo. These girls had, by some chance, been saved from death, either by lying somewhere so exhausted that they had been taken for dead and abandoned or because some Europeans had had the opportunity of purchasing the unhappy one for a few marks from the Turkish soldier who had raped her last. A little girl of fourteen was taken into the house of a Mr. Krauss who was in charge of the warehouse of the Bagdad Railroad at Aleppo. This poor child had been

violated by Turkish soldiers so many times in one night that she had completely lost her mind. After the war, at the instigation of Lord Bryce, who brought up the Armenian question in the House of Lords three days after the Armistice, November 13, 1918, an attempt was made to liberate from the harems these Armenian women, but it met with little success.

The Turkish government, which was completely responsible for the mass-murder of the Armenians, cannot be held responsible for the most extensive traffic in women that the twentieth century can show. The ruling powers at Constantinople were actuated by the desire to extirpate all Armenians and they included women and children. In September, 1915, Talaat Pascha sent the following message to the local authorities of Aleppo: "We learn that some of the officials, as well as the populace, are marrying Armenian women. I forbid this strictly and insist that women of this sort be divorced and sent into the desert."

The question naturally arises how these atrocities could have taken place under the eyes of Germany, the ally of Turkey, whose influence in the latter country during the war was no small one. That the Germans could have been influential in restraining the brutalities of the Turks is proven by the example of Freiherr von der Goltz who, we should remember, protested against the impending deportation of the Armenian residents of Mosul and actually saved them from a like fate. Many German soldiers in that land saw the atrocities and preserved them for all time in photographs which they took. Such soldiers entertained definite opinions on these inhumanities which were in no way dictated by political or official considerations. That this was so is proven by authentic reports like the following from the pen of an eye-witness:

"We were about ten thousand German soldiers and had received the command to march in the direction of Kat-ul-Amara. In our midst were Osmanian officers and soldiers who served as interpreters and guides. Our path lay through the desert and we marched along the length of the Euphrates and the Tigris. In the evening we pitched our tents in the desert. One evening our Osmanian comrades disappeared. We thought they had gone to a religious service; but they returned with two hundred Armenian women and young girls whom they had obtained from a caravan camped in the vicinity. Our tents lay nearby and when night came, hell began to burn in our midst. All through the night German officers and soldiers were prevented from sleeping by heart-rending calls for

help and shrieks of ravished victims. But we were unable to intervene for our military leaders had forbidden us to interfere with the "internal" affairs of the Turks, so we had to remain silent while our sisters-in-faith were abused. . . . When we awoke the next morning we saw to our horror that all the young girls and women who had served to satisfy the animal lusts of these brutal tyrants, were dead, each one having had her throat cut."

Actually the German authorities must bear a large share of the responsibility for the atrocities perpetrated against the Armenians during the war. The people in Germany knew nothing about these "heroic" deeds of their Oriental ally, although Dr. Johannes Lepsius, who six years later served as an expert witness for the defense in the Tailirian trial, issued a confidential brochure in 1916 describing numerous atrocities committed by the Turks, and Liebknecht had already introduced this subject in the Reichstag. But even as late as June, 1915, the Wolff News Agency dared to make the following statement at the direction of the higher authorities: "The reports of neutral envoys concerning the slaughter of Armenians are lies and fiction; they are inventions of the Allies." This point of view was maintained for a long while. The famous collection of Kurt Mühsam, entitled *How We Were Duped*, contains two orders of the censors dating from October and December of that year: "Concerning the Armenian atrocities, the following is to be said: Our friendly relations with Turkey must not be endangered by these matters which concern only the internal administration of that land."

"Concerning the Armenian question the best policy to pursue is that of silence. The deportment of the Turkish government in this matter is not particularly praiseworthy."

It will be noticed that the trend of these orders, especially the second, is slightly different from earlier directions and policy, but no radical change can be detected.

In this connection we should mention that the plan of deportations was originally conceived by a German, the Orientalist, Paul Rohrbach, who suggested that the Armenians be transplanted from the Eastern provinces to the territory of the Bagdad railway, in order to found there an industrial line for the German Oriental market of the future. Naturally this scholar was not concerned about the manner in which his plan would be carried out; but the Allies were quick to speak of "German plan, Turkish work," and not without justification. An interesting contribution to the war

psychosis of the church is the attitude of the German pastor, Traub, who said: "Inasmuch as much propaganda is being disseminated in behalf of Armenia, we are constrained to say that love for the Fatherland is of chief importance and if the Armenians do not respect this virtue we need not be concerned about them."

Of course there were some Germans who dared to protest against the inhumanity of their war government. We recall the case of the newspaper correspondent, Dr. Harry Stuermer, who saw these atrocities and courageously expressed his feelings: "Germans with only a slight feeling of humaneness and pity cannot help blushing at the cowardice of our government toward the Armenian situation. The mixture of unscrupulousness, cowardice and shortsightedness which our government has demonstrated, in the matter of the Armenians, is alone sufficient to undermine the political loyalty of any thinking man who has any personal feeling for humanity and civilization. Certainly few Germans will be able to bear lightly the judgment of world history that the incredibly cruel destruction of a culturally valuable people, numbering a million and a half souls, coincided with the period when German influence in Turkey was strongest."

A sexual crime, always connected with war, is rape, concerning which we must add a few facts. In peace times, acts of rape are attributed to sexual hyperæsthesia, that is to unusual strength of the sexual urge, and in some cases to sadistic impulses. Hyperæsthesia can be congenital or may be temporary due to excessive indulgence in alcohol or protracted sexual abstinence. Both these factors were present during the war. We have seen that in the World War there was much drunkenness and forced abstinence in the trenches. In addition, there was the continuous stimulation of the sexual sphere through the bloody work of war and the sight of violent acts. For this reason this war also saw numerous cases of rape perpetrated on all fronts by the soldiers of all armies. They did not occur more frequently because, on the firing line, women were scarce and behind the front the satisfaction of the sexual impulse was not difficult; and hence there was no need of violence. The field- and halting-station brothels, no matter how disgusting, diminished the number of cases of rape during the war.

Remarkably enough, this was a disappointment to many. Public opinion was set on having a vast increase of this crime in the war areas. The erotic fantasy of the time wallowed in deeds of violence in the sexual realm which were attributed to the enemy, particu-

larly to the Germans in Belgium. The soldiers of every land went to war with the conscious or unconscious resolve of indulging upon the field of honor in the pleasures of love and, whenever necessary, forcibly seizing them. "Women and cities must surrender." While the Germans were represented as embodying all vice and crime, Italian fliers on the Southwest front dropped down, among the Austrian soldiers, leaflets informing them that, while they were fighting against Italy, the Russians would make a triumphant entry into Hungary, occupy their houses and violate their wives. A French poem of that time began with the words: "Germans, we shall possess your daughters."

More remarkable was the attitude of women, although it corresponds to the view of sex psychology. For the women, the brutality and aggressiveness of the man is, to a certain degree, accompanied by pleasure. The reasons for this are obvious. The conquest of woman and the act of copulation, presuppose, on the man's part, a definite joy in attacking. The woman who, in the act of love, is the one that gives herself, reacts to this with passion. The normal woman desires to be conquered by the man, to be forced; and only one step separates her from the female masochist who wishes, not only to be overwhelmed, but also to be raped and brutalized. Though the science of sex psychology is young, this point is ancient, for as far back as two thousand years ago, the great teacher of love, Ovid, mentioned this matter to his disciples.

This sentiment, happily expressed by the Roman poet and frequently substantiated by sexology, renders understandable the conduct of large numbers of women during the war. The average woman sees in war a series of brutal acts carried out by man. These have for her certain pleasant erotic undertones which arouse her sex interests. Ever since Wedekind depicted, upon the stage, the heroine of his *Death Dance*—the hysterical woman who combats the traffic in girls, but unconsciously desires herself to be sold or ravished—this motif has been used in literature.

One of the most popular anecdotes of the war-years was said to have taken place in Galicia. When the Russians occupied this town in 1914, a band of Cossacks entered a house. The mother of the household watched them in great fright as they plundered everything, including all the food and drink they could find. When they ended their feasting and were about to go, the lady of the house stood at her door amazed and called out, "Don't you rape?" Burghard Breitner, who is our authority for the seriousness

of this observation, related, in his Siberian diary, that Russian newspapers published reports of the violation of a Russian nurse by German soldiers. "Since that report was printed in the newspaper, all the nurses at the front demand their due, and I, for one, am not at all amazed, considering the observations that have been made till now. War is war, an old anecdote has said, and many women desire more from this tremendous struggle than the report of the death or loss of their husbands. The matter of war children certainly is too large a consideration to be overlooked or concealed in this connection."

With the hysterical tendency to confuse reality with imagination, the predilection of woman for masculine aggressiveness led to false erotic charges. This is common in criminal practice. In such accusations unsatisfied sexuality expresses itself by representing wholly fictitious facts as real. This representation has passional nuances and satisfaction for the accusing person. How far the boundary between the wish-dream and reality can disappear in such cases appears from the investigation by J. R. Spinner of imaginary pregnancy, only this appears infrequently, whereas rape, proceeding from a hysterical imagination, is quite typical and was more frequent in the over-stimulated erotic atmosphere of the war. Wherever enemy soldiers appeared, there were immediately women and girls who claimed they had been raped. The suggestive effect of propaganda strengthened considerably the hysterical disposition already present. It cannot be denied that in a majority of these cases, the accusers were conscious liars desirous of concealing a sexual dereliction, and to be regarded as martyrs to the enemy rather than fallen women. In addition, there were many women in every land who capitalized their patriotism.

In the early months of the war, England was overrun by Belgian women claiming they were victims of German brutality. Whenever an investigation was made, these accusations were usually found to be unjustified. Nevertheless, they were continually made, for hysteria became contagious and there were times when the reputation of having served as an object of German brutality was connected with considerable moral and material advantages. As an example of imaginary rape, let us quote the following case, reported by Dr. Marcinowski, from an occupied area of France: "A short time ago a pretty French girl came to me for advice. She belonged to a family of refugees of which there were about 1600 in my district in northern France. Several months before, these

people had fled from the line of battle and from their home that was destroyed. The bombardment of their residence lasted three days and, in desperation and terror the whole family, comprising four people, determined to commit suicide by the aid of a coal fire. During the bombardment she happened to be unwell. Later on, German soldiers rescued her but since that time she never had her period and she feared that the German soldiers might have abused her while she was unconscious. This fear drove her to me. Yes, she had had intercourse once with a friend. The investigation was negative. The rape she came to complain about was a dream which her imagination, the narcotization by coal gas, and the whole extraordinary situation had created for her. *Sapienti sat.*"

Although rape was in most cases not even investigated, much less established, practically all the warring nations engaged in controversies that lasted for years on what was to be done with "war children," the fruits of the acts of rape carried out by enemy soldiers upon native women. It is characteristic that these discussions were incited by women and carried out by them with the greatest enthusiasm. One cannot help harboring the rather ungallant suspicion that this problem, whose practical solution was exercising these ladies so much, must have brought a certain satisfaction, for while they were theorizing about it, they were able to wallow in descriptions of violations that were supposedly carried out.

This is especially true of the women of France where the question of these "war children" (who, incidentally, were scarcely found there in reality), known there as *indésirables*, was debated with as much seriousness as though it concerned a large proportion of the population. The liveliest part of the question was concerned with whether, in such cases, termination of the undesired pregnancy and the elimination of the fruit of the forced embrace, should be allowed. There were even certain priests who espoused this point of view. The Montmartre poet, Monthésus, composed a poem which expressed the feelings of the raped woman and called science to aid in freeing the victims of violence from their burdens. The savant, Grandjux, went even further and spoke of an "infection through Teutonic spermatozoa" and the necessity of a law for "deteutonization" in the interests of the victims and for the protection of the race. The French government, which was quite clear about the practical unimportance of the question, merely allowed the reception of these *indésirables* into Federal nurseries and prom-

ised to pay all costs connected with delivery of these raped mothers as well as the education of the children.

Germany also engaged in protracted intellectual activity concerning the fate of these children who, for the most part, were not only unborn but unconceived. The actual incentive to these discussions was provided by the Russian campaign in East Prussia where cases of rape certainly did occur. Here the German *League for Protection of Mothers* took up the question. In a petition to the government, they requested a "special law in behalf of the women and girls raped by members of the enemy army," whereby the latter would be allowed an abortion in cases where they could prove rape. Certain groups saw, in this petition and the activities carried on in its behalf, the realization, in an indirect way, of the well-known demand of radical feminists for the right of woman to her own body and asserted that "at the present time there was less room for this principle than ever before."

Egon Erwin Kisch has described, in his *Winter Camp of a Defeated Army*, his conversations with the inhabitants of a Galician village which had been occupied by the Russian army and then recaptured by the Austrians. "They had remained in their Galician village when the Russians first came because they thought to themselves, 'The Russians are also people.' But when the latter came they broke into Jewish houses, robbed at the point of a revolver, beat the men, and sought, as their chief booty, girls and women. They even dragged children into adjoining rooms and raped them. Once as the Cossacks approached a certain house, the girls all hid but when the Russians began to beat the father and pound him on the head with the handles of their bayonets, the daughters burst out of their hiding place with a loud outcry and begged that their father be released. They gained their request but two of them were immediately raped. The third jumped out of the window and fled over the half-frozen field where she remained standing all night long, listening to the Cossacks search for her. Another time they threatened to split the head of a baby unless the mother would reveal to them the hiding place of her thirteen-year-old daughter. Another woman had received saber cuts on her head to make her reveal the hiding place of her daughter. In answer to a request for protection, the Commandant, a Russian count (most of the officers of these Cossack divisions were aristocrats) replied that the villagers first had to send a deputation of young girls and then he would consider whether something might not be done in their behalf.

At the approach of the Austrians, a part of the Jewish population hid in the boiler of a factory, preferring death by starvation to dishonor at the hand of these monsters."

Documents relative to the atrocities in Eastern Prussia, similar to these, were set forth in a memorial of the German government of March 25, 1915. This document, composed of the testimonies of eye-witnesses, included a large number of cases of rape, venereal infection and similar incidents whose soundness cannot be tested today. The value of the testimonies which, for the most part, were provided by those who were supposed to have been raped is, as we have shown, very dubious even in peace times, and much more so during war.

The actual atrocities of the World War were, we repeat, not these historical crimes of war but the ghastly murderous inventions of technology. That is why we close this chapter with the words in which Karl Krauss summarized his consideration of poison gas: "Man does not make any single progress whatever without revenging himself for it."

Chapter 19

POST-WAR REVOLUTION AND SEXUALITY

Armistice Upsets Soldiers' Routine—Orgiastic Celebration of Peace—Enormous Increase of Venereal Disease—Hinterland Girls Warned Against Diseased Soldiers—Sexuality Rampant in Russia—German Officers as Don Juans—Revolution and Counter-Revolution—Women as Sadist Leaders—Pre-War and Post-War Russian Morality—A Blood-Thirsty Female Terrorist—Rape and Mass Murder—Black Army of Occupation—"The Black Plague"—Black and White Rape and Perversion—Peace Time Brothels for Post-War Armies—The Burden of Erotic Heroism—Reparation Babies

THE bloody drama approached its end. The cannons became silent, the mass-murders ceased after almost five years, and mankind drew its breath. Man did not realize that, from this most frightful war in human history, all lands and all peoples would come out defeated, or that capitalism, which had conjured up this unspeakable misery, would suffer the greatest defeat. Capitalism still had years of life in which again and again its supremacy over the tortured earth would be challenged, and in which, here and there, rebellious masses would demand an accounting for the blood shed. More and more its power tottered and it had to muster its forces to maintain power through the frequent crises, and the battlefields of peace also strewn with corpses. On the body of this capitalism, once so proud, there yawned a great red wound—the Russia of the proletarian revolution.

It is impossible to obtain a true picture of the psychological reactions of the period immediately after the close of the war. Even that statement which is most creditable, that the end of the greatest slaughter of all history was received everywhere with loud expressions of joy, was not the whole truth. The war had lasted too long for this. Having seen what frightful brutalization ensued as a result of the war, it should not surprise us to learn that the Armistice was regarded by many as an interruption to a form of life to which they had become accustomed. All soldiers, not only those of the "so-called" victorious nations, can verify this. Thus the English non-commissioned officer, Edmonds, wrote that the most disappointing moment of the war was the announcement of the Armistice as the war enchantment was suddenly dispelled, and they were thrust back into an unfriendly world. Millions of men, worked up to an unnatural pitch of excitement and daring, were suddenly thrust back into routine normalcy which destroyed their

equilibrium. To the soldier, fighting had become second nature. He had grown accustomed to live in the moment and, though his joys were extremely meager, they were seized upon with an intensity unknown in civil life. When the Armistice came, ending the whole adventure, men had to tear themselves out of this new world and turn anew to a life which seemed distant and empty, a life where one had to earn one's living. Now one had to "worry for the morrow whereas, until now, one had grown dishabituated even to expecting to be alive on the morrow. Disappointment came with peace, and not with war; peace was a hopeless condition. In war every activity was directed to a definite end. Peace did not appear to lead to anything; it was an anti-climax."

This description, which does not come from the pen of a soldier enthusiastic for war, could be duplicated by similar utterances by German soldiers and serves as a supplement (and contribution as well) to our remarks concerning the fact that war became second-nature. What is symptomatic in these utterances is the inability of the soldier to find his way back to peaceful work (which frequently enough he had never known) after the five years which were so advantageous to the development of infantilism and atavism. This inability, as a result of which innumerable men were ruined subsequently, together with the intoxication of love which resulted when humanity was suddenly freed from a tremendous pressure, stamped the after-war period with its peculiar morals.

The free erotic indulgence, resulting from the Armistice, was found on all sides and was not difficult to explain. Remember that the outbreak of the war was greeted as a prospective carnival for the liberated primeval impulses which were to find triumphant fulfillment. But this turned out to be a bitter disappointment, especially in the erotic realm. While the artificially aroused atavistic impulses of cruelty could be gratified upon the battlefield, there was no chance for a healthy sexual life. What is more, great masses of the hinterland suffered as a result of the dearth of men and this sexual need could not be controlled by any conventional repressions. During all this time there was no trace of that erotic liberation for which war had been so enthusiastically welcomed—except at the halting-stations. Now that the Armistice had come and the military enslavement of man had ceased, this liberation from morality could become a fact.

In the hinterland orgiastic parties of celebration were held and the soldiers of both armies obtained their love-pleasures on the way

home—in the districts of Belgium, France and Germany now occupied by the Allied troops. Everywhere the flames of sensual desire blazed up, restrictions fell away, and the consequence was not only a moral chaos but a marked increase in venereal diseases. This is also a consequence of war. The Germans endeavored to make the revolution responsible for this immorality, but unfortunately for the German explanation, we find the same conditions among the Allies. General Crozier remarked to his chief that the men had become woman crazy, and that venereal diseases were spreading. It was rumored at that time that, to honor the arrival of the Allied troops, the Germans had released from prison all women who had been there because of venereal diseases. For this reason this British general counselled his superior officer to take measures against the spread of syphilis and to instruct the men to care for themselves to prevent bringing this plague to England.

Undoubtedly the erotic exhibitions of the first peace days were psychologically comprehensible, a natural reaction against the enslavement and torture of life during the war. This erotic insanity was not confined to the beaten nations, nor was it confined to any particular group of the population. Moreover, the conditions for the spreading of venereal diseases were the same on both sides. Soon these diseases, confined during war behind the lines and at the halting-stations, found their way to the hinterland. Even during the war, these diseases were transplanted home through diseased, wounded or furloughed men. They were helped along by the promiscuity raging at home. For these reasons the "Dance of the Gonococci" is a direct consequence of the war and cannot be attributed to the revolutions in the Central states as some scientists tried to do for counter-revolutionary reasons.

All the measures taken by the victorious and defeated armies for the control of venereal diseases proved futile. At the end of November, 1918, Julian Marcuse wrote that venereal disease in the German army was greater than indicated by official statistics, for it was impossible that the figures should be the same as in peace times considering the fact that Belgium, France, Russia and Roumania were full of this pestilence, that war had increased clandestine prostitution enormously and had made so many unemployed women bearers of this infection. Marcuse's opinion was that the efforts made by the German military authorities to cope with this problem were themselves an index that the number of diseased was greater than that indicated by the official statistics. Moreover, the

counsel of workers and soldiers at Nürnberg issued a proclamation immediately after the Armistice (a number of other cities followed): "Because of the war, the number of venereal diseases has increased tremendously and an enormous number of diseased soldiers are returning home from the front. As a result of rapid demobilization, it is feared that the whole land will become infected with these diseases bringing great suffering to the individual and to his whole family. The female population is requested to avoid every intimate relation with soldiers and it is the duty of mothers to enlighten their young daughters and guard them closely."

As far as the historian of morals is concerned, perhaps the most important aspect of the revolution is the rôle which women played in paving the way for them and in actual participation. This has been treated from the view of the criminologists by Wulffen in his notable work, *Woman as Sexual Criminal*, from which we quote the following remarks: "Mass-crimes illustrate that frequently the charm exerted by a woman drives a man to commit crimes in her behalf. Schneickert has observed, in strike riots and disturbances of other kinds, that often enterprising blades are heartened by the presence of their 'brides' to do all sorts of mischief. What happens here, in a small degree, takes place in a revolution on a large scale. . . . In the food-riots brought on by war and inflation, one could frequently see the effect exercised upon the waiting masses of people by certain women."

It can scarcely be doubted that the revolutions of the Central states were heralded by the excited mood of the women who stood in long lines at food stations waiting for their little mites. But still more important was the fact that, even before the end of the war, there had been two revolutions—the Irish and the Russian—in which women participated in a way unknown before. It had long been recognized that woman was amenable to violent social transformations, frequently for the reason that these are connected with violent explosions of passion and the breakdown of those repressions which are hallowed by society. These eruptions and social changes she can use for her erotic pleasure. In addition, instincts of cruelty were also concerned. Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld has related that, during the days of the Spartacus uprisings in Berlin, the corpses of those that had fallen during the mêlées were spread out in the morgue naked. All day well-dressed women would come to view these corpses for erotic titillation. Similar cases were known in the Russian civil war and, indeed, this is no novelty in the history

of revolution. But what is an unmistakable expression of the emancipation of woman, which, as we have seen, was tremendously accelerated by the war, was the participation of women in the Irish and Russian revolutions. Now they appear, for the most part, not as sexual creatures who are concerned with snatching erotic pleasure, nor enemies of the revolution, but as conscious fellow warriors. For the first time woman, who had achieved equal right, gave the world to understand that she was determined to play an important rôle in the political history of mankind, that hereafter she would not be satisfied with the indirect influence upon historical events through man.

In the Irish revolution, which arose both from nationalistic and anti-war motives and blazed from April 16 to May 1, 1916, transferring the center of Dublin into a heap of ruins, women played a decisive rôle. We might mention here with special honor the "Red Countess" Markiewicz, Mrs. Despard, a sister of Field Marshal French, and the "green lady," Mary Gonne.

In the Russian revolution we meet women at all posts. Considering the importance which the Russian revolution has from the point of view of the new sex morality that has arisen there, we wish to treat of these conditions in more detail. As far as the war years are concerned, essentially the same results were produced there as in western Europe. Here, too, sex life stood in the shadow of great hunger during the years of the catastrophe, only here the greater freedom of the Russians in matters of sexuality, produced a difference. The love life of the Russians during the war is similar to that of West Europeans, but more honest and more fundamental. Read, for example, what the domestic Arina, in a novel of Babel, says to her lover, the father of her child, as he takes leave of her en route to the battlefield: "There is no point, Serjoschka, in waiting for you. In four years I shall be delivered three times, more or less. I shall get a room and raise my skirt and whoever comes will be the master, whether he is a Jew or someone worse. Before you come back I shall be a tired and worn-out female. . . ."

It will not surprise us, therefore, that love for prisoners-of-war was widespread in Russia. In the famous novel, *Wirinea*, by the most original living woman writer of Russia, Sejfullina, the wife of a soldier, states unequivocally that she sees no reason why she should not be free in her conduct. She is the wife of a soldier and after she has taken care of her children (and after God has taken care of her in-laws by calling them to himself and thus relieving

her of the burden) there is no reason why she should not take her joy with a neat prisoner-of-war who works for her. Another woman, a peasant who lives in the Siberian village, complains that all the men have been drafted and that the only ones left are either senile, invalid or young adolescents. Occasionally some railroad engineers would come. As to the Austrian prisoners, this healthy peasant complained that they were sickly and mentioned enviously that other villages had splendid prisoners.

Prisoners-of-war in Russia had considerable freedom even before the revolution and as a result of working the land together prisoners-of-war and soldiers' wives often had liaisons. At the beginning most of these alliances were "wild," but later on many were legally married. A popular song, poking fun at these loves, was sung by the street gamins of Siberian villages at that time, which inquired how Sascha, Mascha and Natascha, all Serbian girls, managed to marry Hungarians.

Sejfullina has drawn for us a picture of the general ethical conditions of that time: "In general the women whose men were away became man-crazy. The girls couldn't find any bridegrooms but they were of an age when the flesh demanded its rights. The men who were connected with the railroad in various capacities, tried to lure them by promises of special pleasures and gifts, and so the peasant woman exchanged her clothing for the short skirts of the city and put away her conscience. She made free with strange men. The engineers employed on the railroad went to doctors to be cured of their venereal infections, but the peasants had no time to waste on such matters, as long as they did not become bed-ridden. The practice of farming did not permit them to leave their plows and go to the hospital but many of these peasants became diseased. Infected soldiers frequently came from the city and so the peasant population decayed because of the war and the construction of the railroad."

The army saw a great spread of venereal diseases and these conditions became worse in the first period of the revolution. The uprising, the civil war, and the resulting chaos produced the most remarkable changes in the realm of sex. In various portions of Russia, one army of occupation succeeded another and because of the indescribable economic misery there ensued erotic chaos. In the borderlands, armies had been stationed before the war and some had entered at the time of the civil war. There were Germans in the west, English and French troops in the south, Japanese in

the east, and everywhere revolutionary and counter-revolutionary groups, both regular and guerrilla, who tore through the land, plundering and seizing everything that they needed—including the women of the starved population. The latter supported themselves at that time, as appears from the novel of Russian reconstruction, titled *Cement*, by washing the linen of officers and receiving soldiers at night. That which the proletarian and peasant woman did out of hunger and misery, the women of the better class did because of their love hunger and because of the decay of the social order. The Don Juan life of the officers of the German army of occupation in the Ukraine and Western Russia has been described in a novel by Vladimir Lidin who drew a picture of the festivities and the amorous escapades that were carried on in distinguished Russian households with German officers.

The same conditions were true, in the horrible period of 1918, of the officers of the Allied troops and the military missions in Siberia (when Red Russia became a ball in the hands of Red and White powers). English and American soldiers, sturdy and well-nourished, lounged around the train depots in the East, spitting tobacco juice, observing with disgust the Russian formations which Koltshak had raised and equipped with machine guns, and rendered pliable by drill that nearly wore the poor troops to death. In the city, French officers bought women and butter (which became continually scarcer).

The participation of woman in the revolutionary struggles was quite natural in a land where, even earlier, woman had enjoyed a certain degree of equality with man, who had worked on the land side by side with man, who for many decades in the cities had participated in preparing for the revolution, a preparation littered with human sacrifices, and who during the war, took a far greater part in the fighting than the women of other nations. Thousands of Russian women fought by the side of men in the various fronts against the counter-revolution, making sacrifices of even their life for the maintenance of Soviet power.

Legends were built around the bravery of the Russian proletarian woman soldier. In the novel of Dorochow, *Golgotha*, the action of which takes place during the Siberian civil war, we read the following:

“In the western division, Vera Gnewenko participated in the fighting, bearing her firearms in one hand and carrying over the opposite shoulder a bag containing bandages and medicine. She

took an active part in a battle which lasted five days and nights. She applied the bandages to the soldiers on the open field as carefully and lovingly as though every soldier were her own son. She felt neither fatigue, hunger nor fright.

“‘Comrade Vera, you should rest a little while.’

“She didn’t even look at one but only nodded her head and said, ‘There’s no time for that now.’

“Vera had a wonderful voice. Like an electric current her words ran through the ranks: ‘Up for the last battle.’

“The red flag in Vera’s hand fluttered. Its soft folds draped themselves around her small, slim body. Enthusiasm gripped the heart as the charming voice of the girl called out: ‘The International is fighting for human rights! Hurrah!’”

In the civil wars, also, the sexual hunger of the soldiers played the same rôle as in regular warfare. Thus in the novel, *The Child* by Wsewolod Ivanov, we read of a battalion of a red army which was fighting in Mongolia:

“They suffered from boredom. As long as they were harassed by the Whites in the mountains, the vast dark hills filled their hearts with terror, but on the steppes their spirits were laid waste by ennui and yearning. And then it was difficult to get along without women. During the nights, the soldiers would tell one another highly-spiced stories concerning females, and when they were unable to bear it any longer they saddled their horses and captured some Kirghiz women. As soon as the latter would see the Russians they would lie down on their backs and surrender. It was ugly to take them in this way as they lay there, immobile, with eyes tightly shut; it was as though one was sinning with animals.”

In another story by the same author we read of a certain white woman who was captured by a troop of sex-hungry Tartar Red Guards stationed in Siberia. She was condemned to be shot but before she was executed the men that were watching over her decided to rape her. She put up a brave fight and defended herself valiantly with a knife. Whereupon one of the guards said to the fellows that they must restrain themselves and hold fast even as the revolution was holding on fast.

Of course it is impossible to say whether the last admonition just cited was characteristic of the whole Red army but we certainly do know that the Whites were immeasurably worse. In the novel of Dorochow already quoted, we read how the Whites behaved in the districts in Siberia that they occupied:

"The snotty moustache of the first lieutenant danced. Sparks dithered in his grey eyes. A cold wave shot through his body. 'Bring the women here, all of them!'

"Like a pack of hungry animals, the soldiers and Hussars hurled themselves upon the women and girls. With frightful screams, the latter sought to escape the foul and brutal embraces of the hands that clutched at them. Before they were thrown to the ground, trembling hands glided over their breasts and the lusty animals hurled themselves upon the naked bodies with passionate movements. The eyes were blood red and the heads whirling. A bestial din filled the whole place."

Even those peasants with counter-revolutionary sympathies were afraid of the brutalities of the Whites. Concerning one White troop led by Karasjuk, Panferow has told us the following: "When they first came the peasants welcomed them with the Cross and with bread, but when they heard reports of their approach in the village the second time, the peasants hid their cattle and women and when they appeared the third time the peasants met the Karasjuk fellows with weapons in their hands and either hurled them into the river or let them lie dead on the streets."

The atrocities and brutalities of the civil war had no parallel in the history of the world. Father and son fought passionately against each other, and, if we are to believe the literary documents concerning this bloody period, it was not at all rare for father and son to murder each other. Among the tortures which were invented at that time, many can scarcely conceal the vicious sadism which is combined with an almost incredibly degenerate hatred. In the invention of new methods of execution, the Cossacks excelled as they had been systematically educated for this by Czarism, and also by those foreigners who fought in the armies in the civil war. In the Russian novel of Doderer we come upon the following significant description:

"The legion of the southern Slavs, comprised primarily of Serbs, was not large in numbers but unexcelled in bestiality; it came upon the idea of executing captured Bolsheviki by degrees, so to speak. The unfortunate Reds were led to the execution block at the edge of the city of Semipalatinsk in Western Siberia. Here their executioners chopped off one of their limbs and then returned in two hours to lop off another and so on, thus prolonging the death agony. . . . But after the capture of Semipalatinsk, a large number of these Serbians fell into the hands of Russian troops and the

torturers were treated to a dose of their own medicine. The leader of the Czech legions, Gajda, became notorious toward the summer of 1919 for his mass execution of troops; but he was not alone in this, for even earlier, on October 8, 1918, just before the fourth Serbian army captured Samara, the Russian general, Lupow, executed nine hundred Russian recruits who didn't want to accompany the army when the Whites had to leave the city."

In an essay that became widely known a few years ago, Gorki listed a whole series of executions of this sort. He emphasized that they were carried out by Reds and Whites alike, each imitating the other. These executions were virtually sadistic play with murders. A popular gruesome murder was to rip open the belly, tear out a portion of the intestine and nail it to a tree. Thereupon the agonized sufferer was compelled to run around the tree until all his guts were wound around it. Another popular game was the "promotion to general." On the side where generals usually wear their distinctions, the skin of the captured was ripped off the body as well as pieces from the shoulder. In general all the atrocities of the Thirty Years' War were revived, including tying the prisoner to the tail of horses, quartering, breaking on the wheel, flaying, etc. Mementoes of these horrible practices can be found even today at the Central Museum of the Red Army of Moscow. Concerning the collection of this museum which is undoubtedly unique, Stefan Mill has made the following statement in an essay:

"Among the mementoes of the régime of the White Guardists is a glove of human skin torn off from the hand of a Red Guardist in the Ural district. The dried skin is wrinkled and the fingernails appear polished. Frightful! But there are even more frightful things here: the hook of the gallows in Pleskau which Bulak-Balachowitsch used to hang one hundred people at one operation—a plain rusty iron hook."

Of course the traditional Russian knout was not permitted to rest at this time either; and anyone who is acquainted with the Czaristic administration of the *nagaika* knows what sort of floggings were administered.

Interestingly enough, women frequently took part in these sadistic orgies. So, for example, we read that in the Far East the Whites held military courts at which strumpets were spectators and where the torturers would intermit the business of the court with billiard games. The Austrian prisoner-of-war, Dr. Burghard Breitner, wrote in his diary under December 1, 1919, a description of a scene in

the notorious armored car of the ataman, Semenoff, a Cossack chieftain, whose sadism was unparalleled. Some guests were invited into this armored car in which seventeen chained criminals were being done to death. Roundabout there stood a group of Russian officers and quite a few Russian women who observed with interest and satisfaction how the unfortunates were being beaten upon their bare bodies and genitals with iron rods. This torture took about twelve minutes and then death would mercifully come. Thereupon the ladies would all applaud. I inquired of one of the Japanese visitors who had witnessed this horror what he proposed to do when he returned to the Japanese staff at Chita. He replied "that he intended to do nothing because the Japanese did not mix in the internal affairs of Russia." (Incidentally, this scene took place at Chita which was guarded by the Japanese troops of occupation and was the chief city of the area controlled by Semenoff.)

Similar reports are extant concerning the Red terror but these must be accepted with a great deal of caution as they were frequently used for political propaganda. At any rate, let us cite two such cases from a work of Dr. Johannes Berlinger, concerning the sadism of women:

"In the year 1920 there was active, at Novo-Nikolajewsk, a young woman who had a very specialized way of executing her victims. The latter had to bare their upper bodies and kneel, whereupon this specialist would shoot right into their carotid artery."

"The most notorious of the many women connected with the Cheka of Kiev was one named Olga, a drug fiend, who took a peculiar delight in shooting naked prisoners in their cells, or burning out their eyes with her cigarettes."

Another example of these sadistic atrocity reports which arose again and again in a Europe that was so hostile to the Bolsheviki but which were more characteristic of those who propagated them than the actual conditions in Russia, we shall now cite on the authority of Krasnow:

"A certain female Chekist, who worked in the Cheka of Odessa, used to shoot the sentenced men herself and this was the peculiar procedure that she employed: She sat down upon a chair and spread her legs wide apart. Behind her was placed the completely naked counter-revolutionary who was then compelled to crawl underneath her chair and come out between her legs. As soon as

the head of the prisoner came into view she shot him in the temple."

During the civil war the bourgeois order in Russia fell into ruins. Only when the revolution had emerged triumphant from all its trials, could any thought be taken of substituting not only a new system of production for the capitalist economy but also a substitute for bourgeois morality for the Russian proletariat.

We can be fairly brief as far as the revolutions in the Central states are concerned. Apart from Russia, no other country saw a lasting transformation of the economic and social structures of society and no comprehensive alteration of moral concepts. That destruction, overthrow and revolution, coincided in point of time with the blazing up of the desire for erotic pleasure already alluded to, must not lead us to a misuse of the categories of cause and effect. The intoxication of the senses was a valid international reaction to the limitations of war which were put upon all as a duty to the community with the exception of a small group who exploited the world conflagration at the hinterland and at the halts-stations. Revolution and erotic overindulgence are parallel reactions which must not be brought into a causal connection. A new sexual morality arises where the fundamental conditions of life in society have changed. This was not the case anywhere except Russia. For this reason the generation of the World War in Central and Western Europe was prevented from experiencing the growth of a revolutionary eroticism.

This does not mean that even in the revolutions of Central Europe there were not cases where erotic forces were effective, but this is much more true of counter-revolutions than of revolutions. The former were absolutely merciless and revenged every onslaught with a bloodthirsty cruelty which afforded a deep insight into the sadistically colored psyche of that time. The blood-drenched way of counter-revolution led over the Russia of the civil war, through the White terror in Finland, which was protected by German bayonets, to the pogrom rule of Petlura in the Ukraine so rich in rapes (incidentally, this Petlura, like Talaat Pascha, was assassinated a few years later in Paris), and into the West of Europe. In Germany the troops of peace saw to it that the spirit of militarism, which was thought to be dead, was transplanted to the coming generation. The militia and the volunteer corps carried on the tradition of the halting-station of the World War and produced a generation of youth which has given to the world its ample yield of

murder. Ernst Ottwaltt wrote a novel called *Law and Order* in which he documented the *Sittengesitche* of this nationalistic youth. At the end of the novel he has the hero, who is largely the incorporation of the author's own experience and ideas, say the following: "We drank, played cards and earned much money. And many times we also shot at the workers."

In two lands of the former Central powers the ultimate consequences of the revolution were drawn: in Hungary and Bavaria, which, partly with and partly without the co-operation of the Communists, introduced the Communist political form of Soviet republics. Both lived only a short while, and were drowned in a sea of blood and neither succeeded, as did Russia, in creating a new form of sexual morality. Just a word about the rôle of women in the Soviet Republic of München. In an essay devoted to this question we read the following:

"The erotic life of the individual leaders had its special note. As with all leading men the observation could be made that a small group of women was continually occupied with them. These women either were captivated by the success or fame of these leaders or they sought to gratify their own vanity. The women and girls clung to their lovers with deepest devotion, shared misery and danger with them in the most remarkable way. Of course, in other cases, it was enthusiasm for the revolution which drove the women into the arms of these leaders."

In Hungary, where the Soviet republic managed to survive 133 days, attempts were actually made to create a new sexual code according to the Russian model. Thus the "wild marriages" were put on the same level with civil marriages; the difference between legitimate and illegitimate children was abolished, and marriage and divorce made easier. But this transformation did not go beyond some superficial alterations in the relations of the sexes, particularly in the conduct of women, and since no new class had come to power the change affected the bourgeois strata principally. Hence the revolution really helped them throw off a little the shackles of bourgeois morality. A very typical case is that of the distinguished Budapest woman who pursued a member of the government counsel and did not rest until she had won him over by her courting. Here the revolution of the proletariat exercised the profoundest effect on the women of the bourgeoisie which the latter used mostly for her own sexual liberation, inasmuch as the proletariat had no time to formulate its demands in the realm of sex

ethics, much less to realize them in the life of the community. In his novel of the Hungarian revolution Bella Illes depicts, with a great deal of fidelity, how a bourgeois woman seeks to seduce a young Communist:

"My husband has fled to the enemy and cannot return because he is an enemy of the proletarian dictatorship. I am remaining here and I have no notion of leaving because, despite my class position, I am fundamentally a Socialist. And now I must mention another fact—that I am only thirty years old and am remaining here without a husband. Now what is my duty? Must I follow the old bourgeois morality and remain true to my husband? Or am I entitled to the love of another man without having terminated my marriage; or must I first dissolve my marriage?"

After the overthrow of the Hungarian Soviet republic (and also the Bavarian), attempts were made to accuse the leaders of the proletarian movements of various sexual aberrations and, following out an apparently ineradicable historical necessity, to discover in those women who had participated in the revolution, females who had been transformed into hyenas. The chief of the Red terror, Szamuely, who had been in charge of suppressing counter-revolutionary movements, was said to be a sadist. As a matter of fact, he seems to have suffered from an inferiority complex which he acquired during his Russian imprisonment. He had gone through the school of the Russian revolution and, although he did pronounce sentences of death, he was not personally present at these executions, which makes it unlikely that he had a sadistic *Veranlangung*.

Eugen Szatmary has left us the following data concerning female terrorists which have been contradicted by authorities on the subject:

"Many of these women were criminals. Of course there were intelligent women among them whose participation in the atrocities belongs to the realm of psychopathia sexualis. Thus one of the most blood-thirsty terrorists was a young woman physician, Dr. Ilona Telek. Her husband, a certain Pecskay, was the commandant of a detachment of terrorists working in the province. As the counter-revolution flared up here and there, this detachment went to Kiskörös where numerous counter-revolutionaries were hanged. Mrs. Pecskay was present at all the executions, carrying many of them out herself and insisting that she be permitted to establish the death of the executed."

After the overthrow of the Hungarian dictatorship in Hungary,

numerous anecdotes of a similar sort were manufactured and circulated, but they are all without credibility. Very likely the same sort of thing is true of a portion of the atrocities perpetrated by the detachments of officers acting as judges and executors in their own right who, after the liquidation of the Soviet system, made Hungary such an unsafe place with their employment of Roumanian weapons. But there is no doubt of the fact that they carried out mass-murders on actual or suspected Communists; and the extreme bestiality of their conduct to these prisoners has been established incontrovertibly. Thus we need only point to the report of the delegation, under the leadership of Captain Wedgwood, sent to Hungary by the British Labor Party to investigate the case of Mrs. Hamburger who was captured by a detachment of officers and dragged to a dungeon. It was a sadistic orgy, pure and simple. The report summarized the case thus:

“Three officers, with whips in hand, flogged Mrs. Hamburger cruelly and commanded her to undress. She hesitated; whereupon she was whipped again and again until she consented and disrobed. Naked, she was again beaten; then the command was given to bring in another prisoner who had been arrested at the same time with her but who was no relative of hers. When Bela Neumann was brought in he was ordered to violate Mrs. Hamburger, but he refused on the ground that he was an old friend of hers and her husband's. They beat him mercilessly but he still refused. Thereupon two officers, whose names are unknown, took pincers and tore his teeth out. He fell into a faint but they revived him by pouring cold water over him; when he came to they compelled him to lick up his own blood. Mrs. Hamburger fainted two or three times during the ordeal but they revived her by pouring cold water over her. (Mrs. Hamburger denied that any of the monsters that were torturing them were intoxicated.) Finally Neumann was castrated with a penknife in her presence and then carried away. Now they brought in another man whom they undressed. When he was naked, Mrs. Hamburger observed that he had been manhandled and that one of his sex organs had been crushed. He too was ordered to ravish Mrs. Hamburger and, despite the fact that he was physically unable to do so, the officers compelled him to make attempts. Then they ordered Mrs. Hamburger, naked as she was, to sit on the hot stove, but she wailed so piteously that they didn't insist upon this. She had not yet recovered from her menstruation but, nevertheless, the officers tore her legs apart and the

one who had castrated Neumann thrust the handle of his whip into her vagina and turned it so forcibly that she still suffers hemorrhages on that account."

We shall not continue this discussion of atrocities any further. Mass-murders, such as those that occurred in the Orgovany Woods, lead us to conclude that these murders were all preceded by rape. The characters of the criminals engaged in these exploits appear to be similar to that of Lieutenant Lederer who was condemned to the rope and executed because he had murdered someone in Budapest for unpolitical reasons. This malefactor was a typical participant in the counter-revolutionary terror. When this terror was at its maddest, the lyricist, Ludwig Kassak, himself a product of the proletariat, wrote a poem to the Hungarian workers containing the following tragically true words: "Wretches, inflamed with White madness, sought to extinguish the red sun with their body's blood."

To the history of the revolutionary period following the World War, and undoubtedly also to the *Sittengeschichte* of the latter, which found a continuation in peace times in more than one respect, there belongs the question of German occupation of territory. For a while French and Belgian troops of occupation took pains to repay the brutalities of the German occupation during the World War, and they did a thorough job. In the midst of peace the civilized world was treated to a spectacle which constituted a reprisal of the worst effects of the war. The brothels for officers and soldiers of accursed memory were resuscitated. In the Rhine district, occupied by the French, nineteen brothels were erected in sixteen places, including Ludwigshafen, Trieres, Weisbaden and Ems, of which thirteen were still extant on September 30, 1922. The costs of these enterprises, as well as of the occupation in general, had to be paid by the Reich or by the communities. Hence it will not surprise us to learn that these brothels were luxuriously equipped. In an official compilation of the furniture needs of the army of occupation, of the period between the autumn of 1920 and the summer of 1922, there figure suspicious numbers of such items as 800 women's writing tables, 500 dresses, 200 *bidets*, 3500 children's beds, 36,000 coffee cups, 58,000 liquor glasses, 450,000 bedsheets and 680,000 meters of material for bedsheets, which would suffice to reach all the way from London to Naples. In Landau a four-family house was emptied of its occupants and turned into a brothel.

As a result, this brothel-prostitution, organized in military fashion

in the occupied areas of Germany, had the same consequences as the typical forms of war eroticism with the long lines of men waiting before the doors, aggravated here by the fact that most of the soldiers were colored. In these houses each girl was required to receive ten men in three hours. The American journalist, Villard, wrote in *The Nation*:

“I visited many of these terrible places in two different cities and I know that I shall never forget the impressions made upon me by them. The first was a new building erected by the hard-pressed city administration, right near the graves of the German, French and Russian soldiers who had died in that city of wounds. There were fifteen German girls in this brothel. While I was there more than sixty colored men were waiting outside for their turn. It sounds incredible that during their work day these German girls received daily between sixty and one hundred customers—a bestiality quite apart from the color of their clients.”

It may be that this American writer was somewhat mistaken about the number of men these girls had to receive, but it is true that these unfortunate girls worked on the speed-up and stretch-out system. In München-Gladbach the two women, who constituted the personnel of the public house there, asserted that they were not sufficient to satisfy the demands of the large number of men present there; since the city was unwilling to supply funds to increase the personnel, the French commanding general assigned one battalion of each of the regiments under his control to each of the six working days in the week. He also had cards of admission printed, and assigned to each of the two women ten men daily which made one hundred and twenty during the week. Although medical control had been instituted everywhere, this brothelized prostitution, controlled by the military, was in this case a breeding ground for venereal diseases. The number of diseased increased tremendously, even in the civilian population, as a result of causes which are intimately connected with every military occupation. In babies, also, there was noticed an increase in congenital syphilis. In 1920 the venereal ward of the Municipal Hospital at Ludwigs-hafen was so crowded that the tuberculosis division had to be turned over for the use of venereal patients. Thus it could be noted in peace times, also, that there can be no occupation and no military prostitution without resulting venereal infection of large groups of the population. It is to be noted that this increase of venereal diseases took place in sparsely settled districts of Germany and in

other warring lands, but not to the same degree. The *Black Plague* propaganda made the colored troops of occupation responsible for this condition. Clarté really underestimated matters when he wrote as follows:

“Whenever black troops have encamped, syphilis has taken a dreadful toll. Moreover, many prostitutes harboring serious venereal infections have been sent to Wiesbaden and Mayence. The hospitals are no longer able to contain them all, and so large houses have been reserved for these sick men and women. Among patients who have been transferred to these hospitals are German girls who are not yet of marriageable age, some of them not older than fourteen or fifteen.”

The leaders of the army of occupation fought against prostitution with the same weapons that the Germans had used during the war in Belgium and northern France: control by the sanitary police, compulsory treatment in case of infection and deportation to unoccupied territory (in case of a French woman, to France). It is scarcely necessary to add that, as a result of the great economic depression of the population in all the towns which harbored troops of occupation, all these maneuvers and devices were unable to eradicate the ever-increasing pestilence of clandestine prostitution.

The great indignation felt at the presence of black troops in the Rhine district resulted in the propaganda of the *Black Plague*, which was based on fairly frequent atrocities at the beginning of occupation but which later on became even worse. No one can deny the predilection of the black race for white and, especially, blond women, but in addition to female race fetishish entertained by the women, and to an even greater degree, material misery led to relationships between the colored soldiers of occupation and the women of the civil population. To be sure, women whose past was more than a little shady, but who were now penitent, desired to create the belief that in all these cases one was dealing with rape. But here, as in the war in general and indeed in the criminal practice of peace times, all testimonies on this subject must be regarded with great caution, especially when they are expressed by pregnant women who desire in this way to justify their error, or by unsatisfied women with erotic imaginations. It is not difficult to detect the erotic undertone in an utterance like the following which came from the lips of a woman in the occupied Rhine district:

“These great, powerful men from the hot climates walk about here, singly or in pairs, armed to the teeth, waiting for an oppor-

tunity to satisfy their passion. Woe to the girl who is working in the field or returning to the village from work, or who is on the way to the city with the products of the farm! Dark shadows jump out of the bushes or appear unexpectedly from the thick forests, leap out from the cornfield, where they have lain hidden, then a desperate attempt at flight which frequently is of no avail."

Women who write this way take delight in depicting such acts of rape and are not at all averse to being raped in their dreams. Of course no one wishes to deny that there were actual cases of rape, sometimes followed by murder. But rape was not always committed by black men. Thus in a report issued by the head of the government of Münster in February, 1923, we read the following case:

"The unemployed J.X. was going with her bridegroom to their new residence in Essen-Dellwig to bring a cart of furniture there. At the canal bridge, both of them were halted and the bridegroom was required to show his pass, which he did. Among the six French soldiers, there was one Belgian who spoke German perfectly. One of the French soldiers held a pistol to the head of the bridegroom, Y., and compelled him to turn back home with his furniture. The soldiers departed, taking X. along with them. After they had walked a few paces they called out, 'Halt!' and placed their weapons at her breasts. The Belgian then explained to her that if she would satisfy them, nothing would happen to her, but otherwise she would be shot. She had no sooner answered, 'No,' to this proposal when she was thrown into a ditch by the French soldiers. Her hands were tied behind her back, the Belgian placed his pistol at her breast, and a French soldier violated her. During this, the other five soldiers stood a few paces behind and laughed. After the first one was finished the other five ravished her also."

To cite one case of murder preceded by rape, we will mention that which took place in Idstein on June 12, 1922, the victim of which, the nineteen-year-old Frieda Guckes, was first violated by two Moroccans and then trampled to death. The murderers had torn both her breasts with their teeth. They were young recruits recently arrived from their African home to the army of occupation. Moreover, the colored men were accused of violating young boys and the *Rheinische Frauenliga* listed quite a number of such crimes. Dr. Stehle of Euskirchen stated that the usual procedure was the following: "Towards evening the soldiers would call boys whom they met on the streets, promise them sweets and money

and then lead those that proved to be willing to some out-of-the-way place where they would have their will of them, while one soldier kept a watch. The presents of the soldiers, which occasionally consisted of a piece of chocolate but more often of cash up to fifty marks, were then spent on sweets and gobbled up. Of more than a dozen youths, it is known that they carried on this way over a period of months."

Finally, we must not overlook the fact that very frequently relations were entered into voluntarily between the soldiers of the army of occupation and the women of the territory in question. Those cases in which pregnancies resulted lead us to suppose that we are dealing rather with voluntary surrender than with rape. At any rate, after the first year of occupation, there was an enormous increase in illegitimate births. In Cologne, between October 1, 1919 and September 30, 1920, 2322 such births were registered. Of the mothers, 809 were scarcely more than children, and the fathers were nearly always soldiers of the army of occupation, colored as well as white. The increase in the number of children of mixed breed was especially obvious. The Englishman, Bagley, had this to say in the *Sunday Times*:

"In the children's hospital one often sees in the rows of snowy white children's beds, little black faces, half German and half Negro, touching testimonies of the terror of this shameful thing on the Rhine."

Very tender alliances were entered into between Englishmen (and occasionally Americans) and German women. Concerning such conditions in the city of Coblenz, we read the following in Brunner's illustrated *History of Morals*:

"The fact that the Americans had considerable money, drew a great many 'dollar dolls' and 'Valuta' girls to them, not only from the Rhine district, but even from remote parts of Germany. The American military authorities were extremely rigid in their methods of controlling the sexual relations of their soldiers. Every woman seen in a pleasure resort or upon the street in the evening in the company of an American soldier, who could not prove that she was his wife or betrothed—merely to say that this was a steady relationship was not sufficient—was liable to be arrested by the military police and subjected to medical examination."

Naturally the period of inflation favored this development greatly. Ever soldier of occupation was now a Cræsus. But, in addition, the longer the occupation lasted the less possible was it

to maintain the original standpoint, which, on the German side, had branded every contact with Allied soldiers as unpatriotic, and on the side of the Allies, had prohibited every contact with the civil population. Thousands of former enemies now married German wives. Numbers of Frenchmen especially, had their relationship with German women legalized, whereas the Englishman preferred to escape obligation and, in case of necessity, were often able to have their sympathetic officers transfer them from the district.

In December, 1929, the press reported that the *Rhine League of Women* had applied to the proper authorities of Paris and London to obtain support for the 15,000 illegitimate children which had been left after the departure of the French and the English. Of the 15,000 about 8,000 had been fathered by British troops. The cause of this remarkable relationship—the English were the smallest in numbers in the army of occupation—is undoubtedly due to the stability of the English pound. Whereas the French and the Belgians were going through an inflation, the Tommies always had money enough to spare. Since this support is for the most part unobtainable and will very likely remain so, the erotic heroism of the armies of occupation have foisted a burden of one hundred and fifty million marks on the community of the Rhine. Let us hope, at least, that the forsaken mothers of the Rhineland which has only recently been evacuated as a token of the increasing fraternalization of the nations, are the last sacrifices consumed by the “great moral bath of steel.”

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U. S. Starts Cleanup Of Camp Followers

By JOHN FREUND

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 10.—Since man first went to war, the prostitute has followed and exploited the warrior. But now, as in 1917, the Government is taking drastic measures to combat the camp follower.

The House has passed a bill making prostitution within a "reasonable distance" of military posts a federal offense, punishable by a year's imprisonment, a \$1,000 fine, or both. The Secretaries of War and the Navy will determine the reasonable distance and the FBI will enforce the law when and if the Senate passes it. It is now in Senate committee.

Thus the Government hopes to wipe out the "chippy wagon" and the "juke joint," excrescences that have fixed themselves on the fringes of the nation's military establishments, and to limit the vice that has crept into the towns and cities to which soldiers and sailors have access.

For the most part, prostitution in the vicinity of army camps has followed the general pattern of the neighborhood before the defense program got under way—that is, local facilities for illicit entertainment have been enlarged.

Opportunists in the field, however, have introduced some novelties, if anything along those lines can be called a novelty.

Fort Bragg Camp 9 Miles from Town.

The men at Fort Bragg, N. C., for example, go into Fayetteville for amusement. But the camp is nine miles from town, and along the road several places have been set up to divert some of the town-bound business. Among them is a rather smart

trap, operated by a man with an imposing criminal record. High stakes gambling tables are the big attraction here. This spot entices officers chiefly.

Scattered along the route are some juke joints, where the girls serving food and drinks may be just hostesses or may have a sideline. Also working the highway are mobile brothels—a girl or two in a nice car, offering lifts to soldiers. And in evidence, too, is the "chippy wagon," a trailer in which the girls can move from camp to camp, according to the vagaries of the law and the payday.

In Fayetteville there are many "houses" and also a large number of unattached girls. The latter work in the hotels and get slightly higher prices than the houses, probably be-

cause the overhead is higher. Many of the girls are youngsters of 15 or 16.

Most men with army experience will remember the social hygiene lectures at training camps, in the course of which they were told, in case of exposure, to look for the green light of the prophylactic station. In Fayetteville the station has a green neon sign reading "Army Dispensary."

Few girls are seen pounding the pavement. They depend largely on cab drivers and pimps to bring in the business. Since the prostitutes stay off the streets, the townspeople are sore at the soldiers for the number of "insults" offered to respectable girls. In fact, to be seen with a soldier amounts to social ostracism in Fayetteville, a condition which by no means holds in other towns near the camps.

It's a little different at Camp Stewart, Ga., where New York's highly polished 7th Regiment is quartered. Most of these soldiers, many of whom bear New York's oldest names, have been used to mixing with only the best in Manhattan. In Georgia they are stuck in the wilderness, 45 miles from Savannah, and transportation is inadequate.

Savannah, of course, has the usual brothel facilities, but the city and its residents, awake to the social importance of the swanky 7th, have leaped into the breach with a service club. Financed partly by municipal funds, conducted in the armory, the club gives dances, properly chaperoned. The club also serves meals and supplies inexpensive lodging. As many as 2,000 New York boys attend the club over week ends.

At Fort McClellan, near Anniston, Ala., there are more New Yorkers, from the 27th. Major Gen. William N. Haskell here early exhibited the iron fist. First he threatened to put all of Anniston "off limits" unless the bordellos were kept within reasonable numbers. He has posted military po-

lice at hotels and houses under suspicion and has placed the city of Birmingham, which is well supplied with bawdy houses, off limits.

BEFORE the 27th moved in, the local authorities rounded up all the prostitutes in Anniston and had them inspected for venereal diseases. Most were found afflicted and run out of town, but since then squadrons of new girls have arrived.

Many of the girls use the hit-run technique, operating in taxis and private cars, which in a lot of cases are used as the working quarters.

There is a 10:30 P. M. bed check in McClellan, meaning everyone has to be in by that time except on Saturday. This has brought a great deal of grumbling about "concentration camps."

The venereal disease rate for the county in which the camp is situated is quite high and there were numerous cases in camp shortly after the New Yorkers arrived. This has resulted in a fright for the soldiers, which is just what the Army wants.

At Fort Benning, Ga., where the Army goes in for advanced training and maintains its infantry school, steps have been taken to keep prostitution under pretty rigid control in Columbus, Ga., the nearest town. The girls are rounded up regularly and the houses are shut down.

But across the Chattahoochee River from Columbus is Phoenix City, Ala., which is a honky-tonk town rivalling the worst of the old Tenderloins. In this neighborhood, vice is an industry, operators sometimes inheriting houses from fathers and grandfathers.

The industry is not strictly controlled by a gang in the metropolitan sense of the word, but no outsider can muscle in, and the honky-tonk crowd has politics under a firm bridle.

The places vary from fairly innocent juke joints to establishments in which nothing is a surprise. The juke joints, of course, are places—maybe a tar-paper shack, maybe more elaborate—that house a nickel phonograph, a drink counter and a bevy of “waitresses.” Sometimes the girls are strictly waitresses, sometimes “hostesses” who get a cut on the drinks they encourage customers to buy, and sometimes they are just plain prostitutes.

The biggest place in the region is frequented almost entirely by soldiers. It is a large courtyard flanked by shacks on the sides where the girls, numbering about 20, ply their profession.

Phoenix City is really a tough town. Proprietors of the joints all carry guns and maintain staffs of gorillas. A soldier who kicks at the price of a drink or a woman is in a very perilous spot indeed. Phoenix City impresarios would rather shoot or hit than argue. There have been deaths among the soldiers who visit the town.

In addition to the juke joints, there are plenty of brothels in Phoenix City, and the pimps cross the river to solicit the soldiers in Columbus. One house, overcrowded by the boom, had in one room two double beds, a single bed and a cot, all of which frequently are in use at the same time.

* * *

TWELVE miles outside Hattiesburg, Miss., is Fort Shelby. The town has experienced an upswing in business that has sent matters beyond control of local authorities. As in most of the other towns near camps, not only is there a rush of soldiers, but a flood of workmen employed in government construction. This provides a double problem, because the workmen must find sleeping quarters and the prostitutes must have places to work.

Every room in Hattiesburg is filled, some containing sleepers in shifts. On

pay nights, some of the hotels turn into warrens of prostitution.

Surrounding the camp are a hundred or more juke joints which the itinerant pavement-pounders use as headquarters. In one little town near the camp, McLaurin by name, there are a post office, two houses and 25 juke joints.

Joints Full of Pretty Waitresses.

McLaurin is only five minutes walk from the camp gate and the joints are full of pretty waitresses, some of whom do not go outside with the soldiers.

McLaurin is important to this story from one standpoint. It shows the operation of Army control of vice. The girls in the juke joints sell soda and candy and sandwiches and therefore come under an ordinance enforced jointly by the Army and the county health authorities. They must submit every 15 days to a health examination and they carry cards with blue stamps that indicate they are healthy.

A red stamp on the card keeps a girl out of any of the places. If a girl with a red stamp is found in a juke joint, the place is put off limits, with an M. P. at the door.

Such a development means financial death to the proprietor, so the joints themselves police the girls. The Army is not officially “licensing” the girls, merely seeing that food is served by clean people. But actually it amounts to the highly-debated official inspection.

Not unlike the McLaurin situation is the one existing in Pensacola, Fla., near which Fort Barrancas and the Naval Air Station are set up. In Pensacola, the military and civil authorities have invoked an old law under which a house in which an infected prostitute is found can be quarantined.

Bascom Johnson, director of the Legal and Social Protection Division of the Office of the Federal Co-ordinator of Defense Activities of the Federal Security Administration, is not inclined toward licensing or segregation of prostitutes. Because, Johnson says, experience has proved that neither is a cure for the evil.

"The one way to deal with the problem is to attack it directly," he said, "and that doesn't mean attacking the prostitutes but fighting the racketeers who make money out of it. We are going to make prostitution an unprofitable racket.

"The whole question is a complicated social, legal and health problem. The Government is going to rely on local authorities in the fight and will assist with grants of money to carry on the battle."

He pointed out that the major aim is not suppression, but prevention. That's where the juke joints come in. The poorly paid girls are easily led into selling themselves. A lot can be accomplished by insuring decent working conditions for them.

Leading an assault on strongholds of vice is nothing new to Johnson. A Yale man of the '90s, Johnson was a major with the Sanitary Corps in the last war and later became law enforcement officer for the division of Army and Navy Training Camp Activities. He has been an associate director of the American Social Hygiene Association since 1918.

* * *

WHILE civil agencies are attempting to deal with the problem outside the military reservations, the Army and Navy will work on the men. A major element of disease control in the services lies in the provision of wholesome feminine companionships and organized recreation.

Those concerned with control have discovered that about 15% of the men will expose themselves no matter what is done to prevent it; another

15% won't take any risk at all. That leaves 70% who will take a chance if driven to it by boredom, and those are the ones to worry about.

"If we provide them with decent leisure-time activities," Johnson said, "they will be all right."

He recalled an incident that recently occurred in one of Washington's smartest hotels, when a waiter refused to serve a sergeant in uniform in the hotel's cocktail bar, declaring it was against the management's policy. The soldier protested and there was a considerable row, as a result of which the hotel apologized to the soldier and the Army, stating that Army and Navy men were specially welcomed.

This pleased Johnson hugely.

Another who was pleased was Frederick Osburn, who is chairman of the Joint Army and Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreation. He is liaison officer between the War and Navy Departments and the Social Security and Public Health Administrations.

Osburn's job is to provide suitable recreation for the soldier and sailor and he is, in his own words, "the prostitution opposition." Dancing, parties, sports, movies and all forms of healthful and constructive recreation are what he offers through the many public and private organizations whose activities he co-ordinates.

There is in prospect a \$150,000,000 appropriation to cover these activities, provide quarters and facilities for them near the military establishments.

Partaking in the program, of course, will be such organizations as the Y. M. C. A., the National Catholic Alliance, the Jewish Welfare Council and the Salvation Army, whose project is under way now with the direction of Walter Hoving, New York merchant. With the title United Service Organization, these groups will raise \$10,000,000 which will be used

outside any Government appropriation.

All over the country, too, civic groups are gathering to provide entertainment for service men. Savannah has been mentioned. In Richmond, Va., patriotic girls are mobilized for Saturday night dances at Camp Lee. In Santa Barbara the cream of the social crop is transported on Saturdays to Santa Maria, where the Army trains fliers. On Long Island, towns near Mitchel Field provide local girls for dances there.

It's the same everywhere in the vicinity of concentrations of troops.

In every way possible, the Government and its best available administrators are trying to make the Army and the Navy not only happy, but healthy. The venereal disease rates in the services have dropped from more than 200 per thousand in 1867 to the present rate of fewer than 30 per thousand. And the Army and the Navy don't intend to let the rate rise again—they want healthy soldiers and sailors, and so do the folk back home.

